Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-92-049
Thursday
12 March 1992

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-92-049 *12 March 1992*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

FRONT PAGE

ALBANIA

Italian Military Delegation Holds Talks *[ATA]* 2
Transport Delegation Visits Slovenia, Hungary *[ATA]* 2
First Israeli Ambassador Presents Credentials *[Tel Aviv HATZOFE 12 Mar]* 2
Ministry Denies Placing Intelligence Agent *[Tirana Radio]* 3
Five Parties Qualify for Representation Lists *[Tirana Radio]* 3
Labor Group Demands Wages Linked to Prices *[Tirana Radio]* 3

BULGARIA

Zhelev Opposes Early Parliamentary Elections *[BTA]* 4
BSP Denies Intention To Organize Disturbances *[Sofia Radio]* 4
'Festive' 'Spring Rally' Announced *[DUMA 9 Mar]* 4
Cabinet Submits Program to National Assembly *[BTA]* 4
National Security Council Meets 9 March *[BTA]* 5
Judicial Council Dismisses Prosecutors, Judges *[BTA]* 6
Miners Negotiate on Uranium Production *[BTA]* 6
Dimitrov Meets IMF, World Bank Officials *[BTA]* 6
Meets Butrus Ghali in New York *[BTA]* 6
National Bank Chairman Interviewed on Loan Delay *[Sofia Radio]* 7
Ganev Welcomes Expansion of North Atlantic Council *[BTA]* 7
Activities in Brussels *[cross-reference]* 7

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Objections Remain to FRG Friendship Treaty 8
Social Democrats Threaten Ratification *[Prague Radio]* 8
Prague Demonstrators Protest *[Bratislava Radio]* 8
Ratification Postponed Until April *[Cologne Radio]* 8
Dienstbier Discusses Brussels Council Meeting *[Prague TV]* 8
Activities in Brussels *[cross-reference]* 9
Army Unit To Join Yugoslav Peace Force *[CSTK]* 9
Dienstbier Notes Changes, Denies Phone Tapping *[CSTK]* 9
Minister on Advantages of EC, EFTA Agreements *[CSTK]* 10
Trial of Version of Dam Project Planned *[RUDE PRAVO 6 Mar]* 10
Czech Statement Recalls 15 Mar Occupation *[Prague Radio]* 10
Czech, Slovak Leaders Suggest Talk Suspension *[CSTK]* 10
Czech Deputies: Meetings With SNR 'Pointless' *[TELEGRAF 5 Mar]* 11
KDH Faction To Run Own Candidates in Jun *[CSTK]* 11
Havel Wants Parliament To Revise Screening Law *[CSTK]* 12
Council of Europe Challenges Screening Law *[CSTK]* 12
Deputies Confused on Screening Law, StB Files *[NARODNA OBRODA 9 Mar]* 12
NATO Official on Arms Industry Conversion *[CSTK]* 13
Deputies Highlight Arms Code Shortcomings *[CSTK]* 13
Baksay Links Amendment to Opposition Aims *[SMENA 7 Mar]* 14

HUNGARY

Goncz Discusses Relations With Romania *[CURIERUL NATIONAL 5 Mar]* 15
Deputy Bogdan Reviews Recent Visit to Romania *[UJ MAGYARORSZAG 10 Mar]* 16

Hungarian, Slovak Ministers Discuss Trade *[Budapest Radio]* 16
Industry Minister Views Infrastructure, Tasks *[MAGYAR NEMZET 10 Mar]* 17
Border Guards Deny Foreigners Entry *[MTI]* 17
Environmental Groups Protest Danube Dam System *[MAGYAR NAMZET 9 Mar]* 18

POLAND

NATO Chief Arrives in Warsaw on Official Visit *[PAP]* 19
Interested in Furthering Relations *[PAP]* 19
Skubiszewski, Kozyrev Agree on Treaty Terms *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 7-8 Mar]* 19
Letters of Exchange Signed with Russia *[PAP]* 20
Improved Border Cooperation With Germany Urged *[PAP]* 20
Olszewski Seeks Approval for Program, Budget *[PAP]* 20
Olszewski Adressses Provincial Governors *[PAP]* 20
Deputy Questions Prime Minister on Media *[PAP]* 21

ROMANIA

Iliescu Reviews Opposition to Ceaucescu *[DIMINEATA 7-8 Mar]* 22
Roman Comments On Rift With Iliescu *[REALITATEA ROMANEASCA 6 Mar]* 23
Mayor Intends To Close Hungarian Schools in Cluj *[ROMANIA LIBERA 6 Mar]* 25

YUGOSLAVIA

International

Government Urges Ratification of UN Agreement *[TANJUG]* 26
Foreign Debt Hindered by Monetary Systems *[TANJUG]* 26

Interrepublic

Slovene, Croatian Debts to JNA Assessed *[OSLOBODJENJE 22 Feb]* 26

Federal

Presidency on EC, U.S. Recognition *[TANJUG]* 27

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Serbs Discuss Brussels Document *[Sarajevo Radio]* 28
Serbian Leader Demands Confederal State *[Zagreb Radio]* 29
Neretva River Serbs Join SAO Hercegovina *[TANJUG]* 29
Territory Defined *[TANJUG]* 30
SDA Leader Comments on Muslim 'Green Berets' *[TANJUG]* 30
Further on Army *[TANJUG]* 30
Divisions Listed *[TANJUG]* 31
Banja Luka Muslims Protest Rights Violations *[Sarajevo Radio]* 31
Presidency Proposes JNA Return Arms *[Sarajevo Radio]* 31
Sarajevo Radio, TV Journalists End Strike *[Belgrade Radio]* 31
Paraga Predicts Armed Conflict in Bosnia *[VREME 2 Mar]* 32

Croatia

Tudjman Receives UN Forces Commander *[Zagreb Radio]* 34
Orders Full Cooperation *[Zagreb Radio]* 34
Cease-Fire Discussed *[Zagreb Radio]* 34
Croatian Interpretation of UN Tasks Considered *[POLITIKA 25 Feb]* 35
Firm Signs Oil, Gas Deal With Libya *[Zagreb Radio]* 35

Macedonia

Republic Guards Placed on Bulgarian Border *[TANJUG]* 35
Opposition Party Demands Gligorov's Resignation *[NOVA MAKEDONIJA 6 Mar]* 36
Gligorov on Army, Serbia, Minorities *[VREME 2 Mar]* 36

Serbia

Belgrade Student Rally Continues *[TANJUG]* 37
Demands Expand *[TANJUG]* 38
Novi Sad Support *[Belgrade Radio]* 38
Draskovic Addresses Students *[TANJUG]* 38
Belgrade Residents Protest Milosevic Government *[Zagreb Radio]* 39
Militia Guards Milosevic House *[Sarajevo Radio]* 39
Data on New Serbian Territorial Districts *[POLITIKA 18 Feb]* 39

Slovenia

Diplomatic Relations Established With Luxembourg *[TANJUG]* 40
Diplomatic Relations Established With Albania *[Tirana Radio]* 41
Kucan's Presence in Brussels Questioned *[DNEVNIK 6 Mar]* 41
Military Training Centers To Open in April *[DELO 27 Feb]* 41
Peterle on Proposed Cabinet Changes *[DELO 1 Mar]* 42
Changes Expected in Liberal Democratic Party *[DELO 28 Feb]* 43
Drnovsek Accepts Candidacy for LDS Presidency *[DNEVNIK 24 Feb]* 44

Yugoslavia

International—TANJUG reports that the SFRY's $14 billion foreign debt is being paid off by the four republics that "have remained in a single monetary system." By introducing their own currency, Slovenia and Croatia have "excluded themselves" according to Yugoslav Finance Secretariat official Nikola Jelic. The World Bank, has approached the "federation" as the "guarantor of the foreign debt" to resolve the problem and has sent a mission to Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana so that "co-financing of projects" continues.

Bosnia-Hercegovina—Sarajevo Radio reports on Serbian reservations about the Brussels peace document. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party and head of the Serbian delegation to Brussels said, "we argued against the right to secede from Yugoslavia and expressed the right...to remain in Yugoslavia, in accordance with the political will that was clearly expressed in the plebiscite of the Serbian people." Milan Babic said that Karadzic fears that the "central authorities would have too much power." Serbian deputy Slobodan Bijelic was quoted as saying "We are witnesssing the birth of a Muslim bastard on the territroy of the land of our grandfathers....Bosnia should be made confederal."

The Democratic Action Party (SDA) held a news conference detailing the formation of a Muslim "army." According to TANJUG this army includes approximately "30,000 men." "Militant SDA members received arms via the breakaway Republics of Slovenia and Croatia and 'funds from Iran and Libya'" TANJUG reports. The army, dubbed the "green berets," is made up of mostly "snipers" equipped with "light infantry arms, mines and explosives." Irfan Ajanovic, member of the main committee of the SDA "pointed out that they are not 'paramilitary troops, but rather the Moslem people's reply to similar Serbian and Croatian formations.'" The Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) "denied claims of the existence of Serbian paramilitary formations in this central Yugoslav republic." Ajanovic said the SDA is not responsible for the formation of "the green berets," nor does it arm them.

Czechoslovakia

Prague radio reports that the Social Democratic Deputies Club has proposed a four-point proposal for a Federal Assembly resolution on the CSFR-FRG friendship treaty. The proposal notes reservations about the treaty, including "the post-war repatriation of persons of German nationality was carried out on the basis of the Potsdam Agreement" so there can be "no claims against Czechoslovakia." The Social Democratic spokesman "confirmed that if the proposed resolution is not adopted, Social Democratic deputies will not vote to ratify the treaty." In Prague "10,000 citizens" gathered to protest the treaty and "demanded the resignation" of President Vaclav Havel, Bratislava radio reports. Cologne radio reports that the "ratification procedure" will be delayed until "the next session" of the CSFR Assembly in April. A Federal Assembly official said the reasons for the delay were "more of a technical nature" and there were "no fundamental problems with the treaty."

Commenting on discussions at the Brussels meeting of the North Atlantic Council, Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier, in an interview with Prague television, said he was "in favor" and gave his "support" to the idea of sending a CSCE observer mission to deal with conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan over Nagorno-Karabkh. Czechoslovakia currently chairs the CSCE. Dienstbier said he did not know if the conflict could be resolved soon, "but we have to try at any cost."

Italian Military Delegation Holds Talks

AU1103154292 Tirana ATA in English
1840 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Text] Tirana, March 10 (ATA)—The spokesman of the Ministry of Defence reports that an Italian military delegation, headed by the chief of the General Staff of Defence of the Italian Republic, General Domenico Corciane, arrived on an official and friendly visit on March 10 at the invitation of the General Staff of the Army.

The delegation was received at the airport by the chief of the General Staff of the Army, General-Major Kostaq Karoli and other cadres of the Ministry of Defence.

Mr. Alfred Moisiu, minister of defence, received on March 10 at the Ministry of Defence the Italian military delegation.

Attending the meeting was also the chief of the General Staff of the Army, General-Major Kostaq Karoli. Present was also the Italian ambassador in Tirana, Torquato Cardilli.

Mr. Moisiu briefed him with the work done in the Army at this stage of transition of our society, its role as a factor of confidence, stability and tranquillity in this period of free and democratic elections. Then he laid the need to further strengthen cooperation, to support and help the Albanian Army.

The meeting was held on a sincere and friendly spirit, expressing the readiness for further strengthening the cooperation and relations between our two friendly armies.

On March 10 before noon too, negotiations were held between our military delegation, headed by General-Major Kostaq Karoli and the Italian military delegation, headed by Army General Domenico Corciane.

General-Major Kostaq Karoli briefed the Italian military delegation with the work currently done for the reformation and restructuring of the Army and the difficulties it is faced with in the course of this process, the endeavours our Army is making to approach the other European armies, expressing also the wish so that it too establish contacts and develop cooperation with NATO structures.

Mr. Karoli laid the need of the aid in the field of training and qualification of students and cadres of our Army in Italy, the need for material aid and exchange of experience in the field of training under the conditions of democratic developments, the tasks the Army is faced with to defend the freedom and independence, bearing in mind even the current situation in the Balkans.

Welcoming the requests, the Italian side expressed its readiness to further materialize and solve the current and perspective problems.

Both parties had a sincere understanding and readiness to further strengthen the ties of cooperation, for a concrete aid.

Transport Delegation Visits Slovenia, Hungary

AU1003181392 Tirana ATA in English
0900 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Text] Tirana, March 10 (ATA)—A delegation of the Ministry of Transports of the Republic of Albania, headed by the minister Ilir Mataj, visited the Republic of Slovenia these days. During the talks conducted on this occasion with the delegation of the Ministry of Transport and Communication of the Republic of Slovenia, headed by the Minister Marjan Kranjc, they discussed on problems of cooperation between the two countries in the field of transport.

In the end of the talks, they agreed that on March 29, 1992 the regular airline Ljubljana-Tirana-Ljubljana will start its activity, as well as sign the respective agreements between "Albtransport" and the Slovenian air company "Adria". Likewise, they exchanged the contigents of the transit check-passes for the year 1992 of the vehicles of the two countries through each other's territories and agreed to sign as soon as possible the agreements on the international road transport of the travelers and goods and the international civic air transport between the two countries.

In these talks they discussed also problems for the strengthening of cooperation between the two countries in the field of maritime, railway transport and telecommunication .

The Albanian delegation was received also by the deputy secretary of the Government of the Republic of Slovenia, Dr. Andrej Ocvirk, who had a friendly talk with it.

On his way home, the minister of transports of the Republic of Albania, Ilir Mataj, met in Budapest with the minister of transports of the Hungarian Republic, Csaba Siklos. During the friendly talk conducted on this occasion, the two parties expressed their desire to further broaden the relations in the field of transports as well as on the actions to be undertaken to materialise them.

First Israeli Ambassador Presents Credentials

TA1203132692 Tel Aviv HATZOFE
in Hebrew 12 Mar 92 p 1

[Report by political correspondent]

[Excerpt] Israel's first ambassador to Albania yesterday presented to the Albanian president his credentials as nonresident ambassador.

Avi Pazner, Israel's ambassador in Rome, will also serve as ambassador to Albania. [passage omitted]

Ministry Denies Placing Intelligence Agent

AU1103171692 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Text] The Foreign Economic Relations Ministry's spokesman announces that the ministry has not disclosed to any journalist its correspondence with the National Intelligence Service [ShIK] that serves as the subject of an article in BASHKIMI on 8 March 1992. This article by Ilir Dhima deals with a document addressed to the minister Ylli Cabiri informing him that the ShIK chief had decided to nominate a ShIK employee to the post of commercial attache in Bari, Italy. Investigation has not revealed that the ministry staff prepared any such document. The remarks by Mr. Bashkim Zeneli, chief of the Socialist Party's Foreign Sector, broadcast on television on 10 March 1992, are therefore baseless and malicious. The persons to whom Mr. Zeneli addresses his remarks reserve the right to ask for a legal explanation from him.

Five Parties Qualify for Representation Lists

AU1103182892 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1700 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Statement issued by the Central Electoral Commission in Tirana on 11 March]

[Text] On 11 March 1992, the Central Electoral Commission continued its work on examining the parliamentary candidates' documents submitted by the constituency electoral commissions. In the cases of some candidates, this examination has shown that the documents are not in accordance with the Electoral Law, and these candidates have therefore not been registered.

In the course of its work, the Central Electoral Commission has decided that the following parties fulfill the conditions for inclusion in the multi-candidate lists for the additional seats in the 22 March election: The Agrarian Party, the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, the Social-Democratic Party, and the Socialist Party. Six other parties participating in the electoral campaign with individual candidates, besides the Green Party that is taking part in a coalition, have failed to qualify for inclusion on the multicandidate lists for additional seats. In other words, they have not succeeded in fielding at least 33 candidates in at least nine districts of the country, in accordance with the Electoral Law. As a result, these parties will take part in the elections solely through the candidates they have nominated in the constituencies.

The reasons for the refusal of constituency commissions and the Central Electoral Commission to admit certain candidates have included: the signature of a single person under different names; the appearance of a single name several times on the same list; discrepancies between the identity card number provided by some voters and the genuine number; the presence on electoral rolls of the names of some people who are abroad, etc.

Labor Group Demands Wages Linked to Prices

AU1003192492 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Text] According to a report from the Independent Trade Unions [BSPSh], Vilson Qendro, BSPSh secretary, and Dervish Dumi, member of the Managing Council, held a meeting with Premier Vilson Ahmeti yesterday. They talked about the grave economic situation the country is exeriencing and the lack of the basic foodstuffs of the basket [of staple goods whose prices have not been freed], which has been associated with an artificial rise in the cost of living that has given free rein to black market speculation.

They especially discussed the government's idea of a general 20 percent wage increase. The BSPSh vigorously opposes such a meaningless increase that will inevitably bring a further increase in galloping inflation and will not in any way result in a real improvement in working people's living standards; it would have the reverse effect, because, in the absence of domestic production, i.e. of supply, one of the basic requirements of the market economy, it would encourage speculators to increase the price of goods yet again, immediately superseding this increase or having even worse consequences.

The BSPSh representatives reemphasized that they demand a direct indexing of wages to prices and refuse to accept pre-electoral handouts that are calculated for certain political, not socioeconomic, aims.

Zhelev Opposes Early Parliamentary Elections

AU1203095092 Sofia BTA in English 2107 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Text] Sofia, March 11 (BTA)—In a televised interview this evening President Zhelyu Zhelev said that early parliamentary elections would be disastrous for Bulgaria. Political destabilization is the thing Bulgaria needs least right now, he pointed out. In his opinion, the present political processes are normal. There is a certain tension which in his opinion is due to the delay of the economic reform. People want changes and results, they are displeased with the fact that the culprits for the national catastrophe have not been punished and crime is out of control.

Dr. Zhelev believes that the problems can be settled through the passage of acts that could serve as a basis for a genuine economic and political reform. The attitude to parliament, to its legislative activity and to its survival is a touchstone of the democratic character of the political forces, he pointed out.

Dr. Zhelev reproached the government for not having moved amendments to the Criminal Code. He believes that the moratorium on the death penalty should be reconsidered and the should be lifted, temporarily at least.

He said that some political forces are trying to draw political dividends from the present hardships.

Dr. Zhelev said that there are no differences between himself and the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] on fundamental issues. There are differences on some details and they are quite natural, bearing in mind the SDS's coalition character.

He confirmed his stand on the decommunization issue. In his opinion, decommunization is only possible in the course of the replacement of the system.

Dr. Zhelev would not oppose a possible visit of Queen Giovanna, mother of Bulgaria's exiled monarch Simeon II who lives in Madrid. He would receive her if she wishes to meet with him.

BSP Denies Intention To Organize Disturbances

AU1103161892 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1550 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Telephone statement by Aleksandur Marinov, chairman of the Sofia City Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party—recorded]

[Text] In connection with the statement of Mr. Dimov, deputy mayor of Sofia, I have been authorized to make the following statement as chairman of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Sofia City Council:

First, any accusation of manipulations, directed at the BSP Sofia City and Supreme Councils in connection with participation with other organizations in mass rallies, is unfounded. Our announcement on public rallies on 14 March is fully in keeping with the law. It points out that the rallies are organized by the BSP Supreme and Sofia City Councils. The additional information about those rallies was included in the announcement of the Press Center of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and we are not responsible for it.

Second, Mr. Dimov's allegation that the BSP organizes disturbances in Sofia is a crude slander. It well known who used to organize such disturbances in 1990 and 1991.

Third, I must state that any threats and warnings about incidents and provocations are biased and aim at increasing tension in Sofia. I repeat, we observe all legal requirements related to mass street rallies in Sofia.

'Festive' 'Spring Rally' Announced

AU1103183792 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 9 Mar 92 p 1

[Text] Important and Joyous Announcement:
Each parts with the past as he can.
We welcome the future with a smile.

The collective of the daily DUMA once more invites Sofia citizens to attend a spring rally in Sofia's Freedom Park on Saturday, 14 March 1992, at 1100.

The meeting, which promises to be as joyful as the spring, will be held under the slogan: "Well done, Vanyo, well done, Kostov!" May all those who love DUMA meet among flowers and music on this particular occasion and prove that a beautiful newspaper is like a good person who is an object of envy for the malevolent, but enjoys the love and affection of all benevolent people.

Considering that some dark blue gentlemen pointed out the date 14 March as dangerous for peaceful life in the country, we would like to reassure them. There will be no guns and rockets at our festive meeting, only smiling faces and numerous friends of free expression.

We are waiting for you! There will be stalls with books, newspapers, and magazines. Popular artists are expected to peform. Naturally, we will also have something to eat!

Stay well and alive until Saturday!

Signed: Your joyous DUMA.

Cabinet Submits Program to National Assembly

AU1103192692 Sofia BTA in English 1850 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Text] Sofia, March 11 (BTA)—The strategic goal of the government is turning Bulgaria into a market economy country, the priorities in the operation of the cabinet are privatization and incentives for the development of the private sector. These intentions of the Union of Democratic Forces government elected in November 1991 are contained in a declaration on the findings, activities and intentions of the cabinet, which was submitted in writing to parliament today. The lengthy document consists of

four sections: Law and Order, Economy and Social Protection, Education, Science and Culture, National Security and Foreign Policy.

One year after the start of the economic reform, the structure of property has remained practically unchanged. In the second half of 1991 production dropped over 40 percent in nearly one third of industrial enterprises. At the end of last year wages grew over 40 percent and industrial production declined 2.8 percent. These are the circumstances under which the structural adjustment of the economy has to be started in practice while adhering to all anti- inflationary measures, the document says. According to the cabinet, this is a medium-term task and will take considerably longer than 1992 to carry out.

The government believes that along with the anti-inflationary measures, it will have to reckon with a number of social factors. This inevitably means that its actions in some cases will clash with the declared strategic goal: The introduction of market mechanisms, the document says.

Privatization and incentives for the private sector top the cabinet's list of economic priorities. The creation of a private sector in agriculture and the start of at least small privatization are seen as particularly important.

According to the cabinet, foreign investment may provide the most powerful impetus for the introduction and growth of market mechanisms. The government describes as irrelevant and wrong the fears of certain politicians that "Bulgaria will be sold out." To help the inflow of foreign investment, the government intends to present, within the next three months, an elaborated concept on the system of export credits, guarantees and insurances to stimulate exports, activate the utilization of the reconstruction and development fund money for the formation of joint ventures and stress the development of telecommunications and transport.

The government believes that Europe should be the priority orientation of foreign economic policy, not only because of its geographical proximity but because it will be in compliance with the strategy of gradual integration with the Europe-wide economic structures. Along with that, the document says that foreign economic relations with the United States should receive such a development as to meet the intense interest and political activity with regard to Bulgaria and be adequate to the enormous capacities of the American market. With respect to the countries in transition to market economy, the government's foreign economic policy will prioritize the creation of conditions for overcoming the sharp decline in trade and promoting reciprocal trade and economic contacts. The government believes that Bulgaria should also assign priority to its economic relations with the former Soviet republics, noting the need of immediate radical changes in this field.

The government emphasizes that without solving the problem of Bulgaria's foreign debt, the Bulgarian economy has no prospects. According to the cabinet, the appropriate conditions have already been created to draft, by the end of March, a well-reasoned proposal based on the realities of the balance of payments and the reasonable projections for Bulgaria's capacities to service its financial obligations until 1995 - 2000.

The document lists two key characteristics of the new situation in which Bulgarian foreign policy is implemented. On the one hand, these are the radical changes in Europe which form the new system of international relations, on the other hand, the replacement of the sociopolitical system in Bulgaria qualifies this country for a place in the community of democratic nations. According to the government, these are the two key elements of the Bulgarian foreign political potential.

The document lists the government's guiding principles in safeguarding national security: Consolidation of constitutional order and the operation of institutions, training of a combat-capable army and a highly skilled police, respect for human rights as a basic guarantee of internal stability; maintenance of state sovereignty, independent policy and nonalignment to any single country or position, non-participation in an alliance against a third country, promotion of good neighbour relations with all Balkan countries, development of contacts with the European Community and closeness with countries like the United States, Japan and promotion of Bulgaria's relations with other friendly states, participation in the work of international world and European organizations while applying the principles of the Bulgarian new foreign policy.

National Security Council Meets 9 March

AU1003085492 Sofia BTA in English 2010 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Excerpts] Sofia, March 9 (BTA)—[passage omitted] At a news conference today the Chairman of the National Assembly Mr. Stefan Savov told about his visit to London Last week. He was there at the invitation of the speaker of the House of Commons. "Britain has a new attitude to this country. Britons appreciate the fact that the totalitarian communist regime in Bulgaria was replaced by elections," Mr. Savov said. Since 1938 he is the first chairman of a Bulgarian legislature to pay an official visit at the British Parliament. [passage omitted]

Bulgarian Mohammedan parents keep picketing schools in the area of Razgrad, northeastern Bulgaria, to press demands that their children be allowed to study Turkish. "This demand cannot be met," an expert at the Education Inspectorate told the BTA correspondent in Razgrad. He invoked statutory instruments and instructions from the Ministry of Education as "Turkish was not the mother tongue of those schoolchildren." Gypsies in villages near Razgrad also want to study Turkish.

A specialised unit which went into operation in Sofia today will process documents submitted by owners of nationalized property who apply for a restoration of their property. In this way, the restitution process will be centralized. [passage omitted]

Mr. Vladimir Filipov was appointed Bulgaria's new ambassador to Portugal by a presidential decree.

Prof. Francis Seersted [name as received], president of the Norwegian Nobel Peace Committee, is visiting Sofia. He conferred with Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev and with Defense Minister Dimitur Ludzhev. Prof. Seersted will meet with the leadership of the National Assembly. The opportunities for cooperation in science and technology are high on his agenda in Bulgaria.

At a meeting today the cabinet approved a draft ordinance on the regulation of wage growth this year. The draft was sent to the trade unions and the employers organizations along with other documents: A memorandum of the government's economic policy in 1992, submitted to the IMF, and the 1992 draft budget submitted to parliament. The government suggests that the trade unions and the employers start talks on the coordination of the documents tomorrow. [passage omitted]

The National Security Council held a meeting today. It was supposed to consider a report by the Minister of the Interior Yordan Sokolov on the leak of information from the National Intelligence Service.

Citing the importance of the problems discussed concerning national security, the participants in the meeting, which went late into the night, declined to comment on its progress. The meeting will be resumed in the coming days, according to some members of the council. [passage omitted]

Judicial Council Dismisses Prosecutors, Judges

AU1103204892 Sofia BTA in English
2036 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Text] Sofia, March 11 (BTA)—Today Bulgaria's Supreme Judicial Council chaired by Minister of Justice Svetoslav Luchnikov dismissed three district prosecutors and decided to pension off another 22 Supreme Court judges as of May 1, 1992.

The three district prosecutors worked in mixed-population area. They are: In Razgrad, Stoyan Kirchev, a former member of the Grand National Assembly elected on the list of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]; in Sliven, Dina Zhelyazkova; in Sliven, Nencho Nenchev, former member of the Grand National Assembly elected on the BSP list.

The prosecutors were dismissed on the motion of Prosecutor General Ivan Tatarchev and on grounds that they lack the necessary professional skills and acted in a way that was incompatible with their official status and degrading for the prestige of the prosecuting institution. The three of them took part in the "regeneration process" or the coercive change of ethnic Turks' names.

Miners Negotiate on Uranium Production

AU1003172292 Sofia BTA in English
1705 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Text] Sofia, March 10 (BTA)—Today the Podkrepa Miners' Federation started consultations with the government. Since Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov, Finance Minister Ivan Kostov and Minister of Labour and Social Affairs Vekil Vanov are all abroad, it was Deputy Prime Minister Nikolay Vasilev who started the consultations with the representatives of the miners' federation.

The principal demand of the miners, who went on strike alert ten days ago, is to review the government's decision to stop uranium extraction in Bulgaria and to move lead and zinc production abroad. Experts of the trade union amalgamation believe that the decision for closing down the uranium extraction industry was rash. They have prepared a programme for raising its profitability. According to Mr. Dimitur Dimov, president of the Podkrepa Miners' Federation, no changes have taken place in the mines since last March and the framework agreement between the miners and the government, signed as a result of the miners' strike in August 1991, has not been fulfilled.

The principal demand raised by the miners during their last year's strike, which continued for almost a month, was that the government should work out a concept on the development of mining in Bulgaria. Then the miners got higher wages and promises for improving their labour conditions.

The negotiations will probably continue on Thursday, March 12, after the prime minister returns from the United States. Deputy Prime Minister Vasilev assured the representatives of the miners that he will acquaint the government with the problems raised by them.

Dimitrov Meets IMF, World Bank Officials

AU1103181192 Sofia BTA in English
1756 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Text] Washington, March 11 (BTA)—Today was the last day of Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov's visit to the United States. Together with the minister of finance, Mr. Ivan Kostov, he had long talks with representatives of the World Bank and the IMF about Bulgaria's debt to Western commercial banks and about the World Bank loan. Later this evening Mr. Dimitrov is expected to be received by the UN secretary general, Mr. Butrus Ghali. Before his departure for Bulgaria, Mr. Dimitrov will have working dinner with representatives of the influential Rockefeller Foundation, Ford Foundation and Carnegie Foundation.

Meets Butrus Ghali in New York

AU1203100092 Sofia BTA in English
0912 GMT 12 Mar 92

[Text] United Nations, March 12 (BTA)—Late last night Bulgarian Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov had a meeting with United Nations Secretary General Butrus Ghali.

Mr. Filip Dimitrov handed to Mr. Butrus Ghali a message from Bulgaria's president Zhelyu Zhelev. Speaking on behalf of the Bulgarian Government, Mr. Dimitrov confirmed the official invitation extended to Mr. Ghali to visit Bulgaria. The invitation was accepted gladly. The time of the visit will be agreed later.

The Bulgarian prime minister stressed his country's sincere desire to contribute to the assertion of the role of the United Nations in finding adequate solutions to the problems the international public is facing especially in the field of peace and security. Mr. Dimitrov emphasized that Bulgaria is ready to take part in the UN peacekeeping operations. He said Bulgaria backs up the secretary general's efforts for increasing the efficiency of the world organization in the new conditions.

Mr. Dimitrov expressed the views of the Bulgarian Government on the situation in the Balkans, paying special attention to the ways of settling the Yugoslav crisis and to the active role of the UN and the European Community in this respect. It was pointed out that Bulgaria seeks to remain a factor of stability and goodneighbourliness in the Balkans by adhering to international law and democratic values and reckoning with the existing realities.

Mr. Dimitrov expressed Bulgaria's desire to chair the 47th session of the UN General Assembly, pointing out it would be an important recognition for the new foreign policy pursued by democratic Bulgaria. In his turn Mr. Butrus Ghali expressed readiness for a close and fruitful cooperation at this extremely important stage in international relations.

National Bank Chairman Interviewed on Loan Delay

AU1203132492 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 12 Mar 92

[Text] This morning our reporter Mariya Mikhaylova contacted Todor Vulchev, National Bank governor, and read to him the headlines in today's newspapers in connection with the report that the IMF and the World Bank have stopped the loan for Bulgaria and have blocked the money. Here is a part of their conversation:

[Begin recording] [Vulchev] Why do you use the concept *blocking*? The release of the second tranche of the loan for Bulgaria's structural reorganization has been delayed. That is all. I think that the best thing you can do is to contact today Mr. Kostov, minister of finance, whom I hope will arrive back from Washington today. He was there in order to smooth out certain differences that were already obvious here in Sofia. First of all, this is the subject of privatization.

When John Wilson was here he drew my attention to the fact that we are the only East European country without a privatization law. In addition, there have been some delays in the sphere of the banking reform, for which the Bulgarian National Bank is responsible. We explained that the National Assembly will adopt the Law on Banking. You know that our society was very much against this law. Subsequently, the draft law has been kicked around since last July. Now finally, after a really long struggle, the National Assembly members, who have shown great understanding, adopted the law.

Now the law must be signed by the chairman of the National Assembly. Afterward the president of the Republic will issue a decree on publishing the law in the press, and then, finally, the law will come into force.

Apparently, various circles that oppose the reform and know that the reform cannot succeed without the relevant laws and institutions did everything possible to delay the establishment of such organs and the adoption of the appropriate laws. However, we shall prevail.

[Mikhaylova] Do our problems with the World Bank jeopardize the receipt of the second tranche of the loan?

[Vulchev] The letter of intent for the new stand-by credit that we will receive from the IMF has not yet been reviewed by the IMF Board of Directors. Our letter was signed by Mr. Kostov and myself. It will be reviewed by the IMF Board of Directors, and I think it will be approved. I am firmly confident of this. Thus, the second stand-by credit, the amount of which has not been fixed yet but it will be similar to the first, will be approved. I am certain. [end recording]

Ganev Welcomes Expansion of North Atlantic Council

AU1203094792 Sofia BTA in English 2111 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Text] Sofia, March 11 (BTA)—Bulgaria welcomes the expansion of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council and believes it to be a prerequisite for its development into an Euro-Atlantic organization which would open new opportunities for security and cooperation, Bulgaria's minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Stoyan Ganev, told the press upon his return from Brussels this evening. Bulgaria will take an active part in this process and hopes to be admitted to membership in the North Atlantic Alliance in the near future, he pointed out.

Mr. Ganev described the opening of a EC office in Sofia as an opportunity for closer contacts, especially as "negotiations on Bulgaria's association with the EC are imminent." On April 6 the EC Council of Ministers is to discuss a report on Bulgaria's admission. Mr. Ganev expects a positive result, in which case the first round of the negotiations on Bulgaria's association can be held on April 13-14.

No less important is the agreement reached with Belgium's foreign minister, Mr. Willy Claes, on the drafting of a treaty on friendship and cooperation between Bulgaria and Belgium, Mr. Ganev pointed out. Mr. Claes will shortly pay a visit to Sofia.

Activities in Brussels

For reportage on the activities of Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev in Brussels during the North Atlantic Council meeting see the International Affairs section of the West Europe DAILY REPORT for 11 March.

Objections Remain to FRG Friendship Treaty

Social Democrats Threaten Ratification

LD1003180992 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Slovak 1400 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Text] To avoid any misunderstandings or doubts, the Social Democratic deputies club has drafted a four-point proposal on a Federal Assembly resolution on the Czechoslovak-German Treaty. Ivan Fisera, chairman of the club and a member of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party Presidium, gave a briefing on the proposal today.

The proposal states that the treaty does not take into account the international agreements on Germany which were concluded by the victorious powers. It also notes that the Munich agreement and the 1938 resolution by the Vienna arbitration board were invalid from the very beginning and as such could not have had any influence on Czechoslovakia's state borders with Germany and Hungary. The proposal further states that the post-war repatriation of persons of German nationality was carried out on the basis of the Potsdam Agreement and that, therefore, there could have been no claims against Czechoslovakia. The last point notes that our citizens' claims for compensation over war crimes, Nazi persecution, and forced labor in camps are still legitimate. Ivan Fisera also confirmed that if the proposed resolution is not adopted, Social Democratic deputies will not vote to ratify the treaty.

Prague Demonstrators Protest

LD1103221892 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensk o Network in Slovak 2030 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Text] According to an estimate by a CSTK correspondent, approximately 10,000 citizens assembled in the Old Town Square in Prague today to express their fundamental disagreement with the text of the Czechoslovak-German Treaty on Good-Neighborliness and Friendly Cooperation. Most of the speakers who addressed the gathering described the signing of the treaty as high treason and demanded the resignation of President of the Republic Vaclav Havel.

Ratification Postponed Until April

AU1103142492 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1200 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Jan Metzger report]

[Text] It is not absolutely clear why the ratification of the CSFR-German friendship treaty may be postponed. The news has come from the CSFR Federal Assembly's foreign policy committee, which dealt with the treaty last night. There it was stated that the ratification procedure will not be put on the agenda in the current plenary session but only in the next session, due to be held in April.

We recently called the official responsible for the issue of ratification in the foreign policy committee, Antonin Blazek. Blazek said last night that there were no fundamental problems with the treaty. The reasons are more of a technical nature. The treaty requires the formal assent of the parliaments of the two republics. The deputies received the document only a few days ago and were given the deadline of 20 March, by which they must come up with their reaction. Neither of the two national parliaments has so far reacted, yet the federal parliament is somehow dependent on this agreement. Still, sources in the foreign policy committee have also stated that the matter is not yet entirely clear. One is still trying to get the agreement soon, and the ratification procedure might even be initiated tomorrow without it.

There has not yet been a final decision, although those members of the committee who talked to us are rather pessimistic that the matter will be put on the agenda tomorrow.

Nevertheless, one does not get the impression that there are any political complications. The federal assembly's foreign policy committee dealt with the treaty yesterday, there was a hearing of the deputy foreign minister, and in both chambers the committee subsequently came to the conclusion that it will recommend the plenum of the Federal Assembly to ratify the treaty. That is to say there is a stable majority that wants this treaty.

At the same time, the foreign policy committee also discussed a draft resolution that was brought in mainly by Social Democratic Deputies, and once again mentions the open, controversial points between the two countries. This draft resolution was not given a positive recommendation by the committee.

It seems to be clear therefore that, despite the public debate and the campaign against the treaty, which of course continues, the situation in parliament—at least at the moment—is stable and in favor of ratification.

Dienstbier Discusses Brussels Council Meeting

LD1103234192 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 1230 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Interview with CSFR Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier by unidentified correspondent on 11 March on meeting of foreign ministers at Brussels North Atlantic Council Meeting—live]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier is in our studio. Good evening. You returned this morning from the meeting in Brussels of foreign ministers of the North Atlantic Council for Cooperation member countries which was dominated by the issue of Nagorno-Karabakh. CSCE senior officials are to make a decision in Helsinki next Friday on whether to send an observer mission to that country. I would like to ask you what this would mean for us when we are at present chairing the CSCE? Would this mean that you could find yourself at the head of that mission?

[Dienstbier] This was also discussed and some ministers proposed it. I am in favor and I gave it my support. If such a mission is to have any purpose at all at this level then it is necessary to prepare it carefully and agree if possible with both sides on certain conditions which they should fulfill. Otherwise, there has been an enormous number of such proposals and missions, and so far it has led to nothing in view of the prevailing situation. I would not like to say that that situation is unclear because to a certain extent it is. However, the fact is that all sorts of people possess weapons on the territory of the former Soviet Union. Therefore, it is now difficult to distinguish which are official units, which are the units of the former Soviet Union, which are Azebaijani units, and which are various groups, which some people describe as terrorist while others describe them as freedom-fighters and the like.

[Announcer] Mr. Minister, could one say that with regard to the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh the scenario is being repeated again to a certain respect, reminiscent to the development of the crisis in Yugoslavia? At that time the course of the talks and steps taken by the CSCE were often criticized. We know that the mechanism of the CSCE is gradually being improved. Could one say that the Helsinki process can now act in similar cases more effectively and much more rapidly?

[Dienstbier] I believe that such criticism is totally unwarranted because not even the European Communities, which have the possibility of exerting economic pressure, managed in the end to achieve a great deal by themselves, and only the coordinated endeavor of the international community led to a more substantial solution, that is, military units are now being sent which will operate in the disputed territories in order to ensure an end to the fighting and to provide an opportunity for a political settlement. I would say that the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh is totally different. The collapse of the Soviet Union began there several years ago. It was the first open crisis.

As I was assured yesterday, by both the Armenian and Azebaijani ministers, the issue is not a national one or an ethnic conflict. From the viewpoint of Azerbaijan the conflict is about territory, and from the viewpoint of Armenia it is about the right of the population of Karabakh, which is 70 percent Armenian, to autonomy or to some kind of right to self-determination within the framework of Azerbaijan. Therefore, what is necessary now is to achieve several things: Bring about a cease-fire, direct talks between the representatives of Karabakh and Azerbaijan, and if this is achieved foreign observers could then be sent to the area, who would not belong to any country which might have a direct interest there. Both sides have some countries which they do not want in the region and therefore naturally none of them could be represented there.

[Announcer] Do different views exist among CSCE member states on the possibility of resolving the crisis in Nagorno-Karabakh, as in the case of Yugoslavia?

[Dienstbier] No such different views manifest themselves. They all realize that this conflict is in fact the consequence of the incredible Stalinist policy. [passage omitted] All of a sudden the Soviet Union has gone, Stalinism has gone, and even the Soviet Army, which today is the CIS Army, is withdrawing from the area. [passage omitted] All local armies now posses heavy weapons which previously were possessed by the army of a superpower. Therefore, both sides to the conflict in Karabakh have tanks, missiles, and the most modern technology.

[Announcer] In conclusion, briefly your personal view on whether the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh can be resolved soon?

[Dienstbier] This I do not know, but we have to try at any cost.

Activities in Brussels

For reportage on Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier's activities in Brussels druing the North Atlantic Council meetin see the International Affairs section of the West Europe DAILY REPORT for 11 March.

Army Unit To Join Yugoslav Peace Force

LD1203100592 Prague CSTK in English 1546 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Text] Prague March 11 (CSTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament) today approved a government proposal to send a Czechoslovak Army unit and a group of observers to Yugoslavia as part of the U.N. peace-keeping operations there.

Czechoslovak Defence Minister Lubos Dobrovsky told the deputies that Czechoslovakia is ready to send a 480-strong battalion and a group of 20 observers to Yugoslavia. The costs will be covered by the United Nations. The U.N. peace-keeping force in Yugoslavia is expected to consist of 14,000 persons. The deployment is to begin by mid-April.

Dienstbier Notes Changes, Denies Phone Tapping

AU1003142292 Prague CSTK in English 1548 GMT 6 Mar 92

[Text] Prague March 6 (CSTK)— Egon Lansky, spokesman for the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry, has been recalled from his post to be appointed Czechoslovakia's ambassador to the Strasbourg-based Council of Europe, Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier told journalists today. Lansky said the post of Foreign Ministry spokesman has been abolished and that the duties will be performed by the director of the ministry's Press Department, Zdenek Zikmund. As Czechoslovakia's ambassador to the Council of Europe, Lansky will replace Cestmir Cisar, a prominent figure of the 1968 Prague spring reform movement. Cisar was appointed to the office in May 1991.

At the press conference, Dienstbier repeatedly denied the February 24 report by the German weekly news magazine DER SPIEGEL that the former East German secret police, or Stasi, tapped telephones at the Czechoslovak Embassy in Bonn. "The telephone exchange at the embassy has been replaced with a new one. That is all and it has nothing to do with politics," Dienstbier said.

He also denied allegations that a colonel of the former Czechoslovak StB secret police is currently working at the Czechoslovak Embassy in Germany. "The truth is that the husband of one of the embassy employees, who himself does not work there, used to work as a policeman," Dienstbier said.

Minister on Advantages of EC, EFTA Agreements

LD0903213192 Prague CSTK in English 1739 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Text] Prague March 9 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Minister Jozef Baksay today said Czechoslovakia's direct financial gain from the trade part of the agreement between Czechoslovakia and the European Community (EC), which came into effect March 1, can be estimated at 5,500 million crowns (183 million USD) per year. Baksay told a press conference that while 70 per cent of Czechoslovak exports to EC countries will be liberalised this year and the rest within five or six years, 20 to 25 per cent of Czechoslovak imports will be liberalised this year and the rest within nine years.

Baksay said Czechoslovakia's trade agreement with the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), initialled on March 3 in Geneva, is likely to be signed later this month in Prague and to come into effect July 1. Baksay said Czechoslovakia's direct financial gains from this agreement are expected to amount to 600 to 700 million crowns (20 to 23 million USD) in the second half of this year.

EFTA's members are Finland, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway, Austria, Sweden and Switzerland.

Trial of Version of Dam Project Planned

AU1003152392 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Mar 92 p 3

["gc"-signed report: "Gabcikovo Hydroelectric Project; Trial Run Will Start in November"]

[Text] "According to the substitute version C, a trial run of the Danube hydroelectric project in Gabcikovo will start as early as 1 November," J. Binder, director of Vodohospodarska vystavba [Hydro-Economic Construction] Bratislava, said at a news conference on 5 March.

Work on the execution of this version (additional dams and other equipment) is under way. It requires approximately 2 billion korunas in additional costs compared with the original project. This investment should, however, be returned within a single year in the electric power produced. "Nevertheless, this substitute version does not at all mean that in the event of willingness on the Hungarian side we could not return to the completion and operation of the whole Gabcikovo hydroelectric project. The technical solution of version C provides for even this eventuality. Therefore, we consider it to be a kind of temporary solution. When and how this would take place depends entirely on when Hungary agrees to dam the Danube in the Dunakiliti region, because a high protective dam with a system for regulating the water flow from the Hrusov-Dunakiliti reservoir has been completed on their side for a long time," J. Binder added.

Czech Statement Recalls 15 Mar Occupation

LD1203054392 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1130 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Text] The Czech Government issued a statement today on the 53d anniversary of the Nazi occupation of Bohemia. It recalls the expansion of Nazism, which drew Europe and the world into the most horrific war in the history of mankind. The war made it possible for communism to extend into Central Europe. There followed over 40 years of totalitarian power. These facts are connected with the date of 15 March.

March 14, 1939 is understood by the Czech Government to be the anniversary of disintegration of our state caused by Hitler's dictatorship. The subsequent emergence of an independent Slovak state belongs to this tragic chapter in European history. That is why the Czech Government, together with all Slovak democrats, considers both anniversaries—14 and 15 March—to be a reminder of the past that has to be overcome.

Czech, Slovak Leaders Suggest Talk Suspension

LD1203092492 Prague CSTK in English 2101 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Text] Prague March 11 (CSTK)—The Czech and Slovak parliament leaders, Dagmar Buresova and Frantisek Miklosko, today suggested the talks on Czechoslovakia's future state setup should be continued by the Czech and Slovak parliaments elected in elections this June.

Buresova told journalists after her meeting with Miklosko that questions of Czechoslovakia's future constitutional arrangement should not become a subject of the pre-election struggle.

After being informed by Buresova and Miklosko of their decision, President Vaclav Havel said the federal, Czech and Slovak parliaments should review the achievements of the talks and state what remains for the new parliaments to settle, according to his spokesman Michael Zantovsky.

Buresova recalled that the Czech-Slovak draft agreement worked out at Milovy, South Moravia, at the beginning of February was "a good document that could be a basis for transforming our state into an authentic federation". But, she said, after the Slovak parliament presidium

failed to adopt the draft agreement, the Czech parliament presidium declared that any further talks would be of no use unless the Slovak side presented new proposals.

Miklosko pointed out that the Milovy document failed in a number of areas, for instance, it did not determine precisely the agreement's co-signers.

He said the Czech side did not come up with any proposal to seek a joint model for a federation, and it was the Slovak side that had to urge further division of powers. What resulted was "a split of the political scene in Slovakia" and "the division of the last balancing force in Slovakia, the Christian Democratic Movement", Miklosko said.

Czech Deputies: Meetings With SNR 'Pointless'

AU0903103392 Prague TELEGRAF in Czech 5 Mar 92 pp 1, 3

["(vk)"-signed report: "We Are Waiting For Slovakia"]

[Text] Prague—At the meeting of the Czech National Council [CNR] Political Board yesterday, the Conservative Block of Deputies composed of representatives of the Civic Democratic Party, the Civic Democratic Alliance, the Christian Democratic Union, the Christian Democratic Party, and the People's Democratic Party presented a draft resolution of the Czech National Council Presidium, which will hold a meeting today.

The draft states, among other things, that the CNR accepts the Milovy document as a starting point for a meeting between the two presidiums.

However, the Slovak National Council [SNR] Presidium has not accepted the draft treaty and the plenary meeting noted the presidium's standpoint.

The last point of the draft states: "The CNR Presidium reiterates that it is prepared to meet with the SNR Presidium. However, from the attitude of the SNR it has become apparent that further meetings are not to be about the Milovy agreement.

"It is necessary that the SNR informs us about what it intends to discuss, otherwise the presidium considers further meetings to be pointless."

CNR Deputy Chairman Jiri Vlach (Civic Democratic Party) said after the meeting of the Political Board was over, that representatives of some parties (the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, the Civic Movement, and the Democratic Labor Party) consider the last point in the draft resolution as an actual rejection of further talks. According to him, it is a misunderstanding. The Slovak side should say what it wants to discuss.

When asked by TELEGRAF whether the actual split of the Christian Democratic Movement means a final no to the possibility of reaching an agreement, J. Vlach said that the split will result in a shift in the SNR toward the rejection of the Milovy draft. Objections against the unified bank, single economic space, and the common state will be raised more and more frequently.

KDH Faction To Run Own Candidates in Jun

LD0903181992 Prague CSTK in English 1342 GMT 8 Mar 92

[Text] Bratislava March 7 (CSTk)—The Council of the Slovak Government coalition "Christian Democratic Movement" (KDH) on Saturday disagreed with a break-up of the movement, but took note of the fact that a faction led by Jan Klepac will run its own candidates in the June general elections in Czechoslovakia. A statement adopted by the council says the existence of two political concepts within the KDH and the differences between them, which have been growing of late, do not make it possible to adopt an election programme acceptable to both currents.

The KDH, led by Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky, emerged as the second strongest political force in Slovakia from the June 1990 general elections (winning 30 seats on the 150-seat Slovak National Council—Slovakia's regional parliament), after the "Public Against Violence" (VPN) movement. The KDH has 25 deputies to the 300-seat federal parliament. When the opposition "Movement for a Democratic Slovakia" (HZDS), led by former Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar, seceded from the VPN last April, the KDH became the strongest member of the Slovak coalition government and the second strongest political movement in Slovakia, after the HZDS.

The new KDH faction of Jan Klepac, deputy chairman of the Slovak parliament, will go to the June elections as a new political movement called the "Slovak Christian Democratic Movement (SKDH), with its own programme and with its own list of candidates, the statement by the KDH council says. The KDH and the SKDH will maintain such relations as "to keep the stability of the presidium of the Slovak parliament, of the Slovak government and the Czechoslovak Government until the end of the current election term".

Three federal and nine Slovak ministers are KDH members or were nominated by the KDH.

The two movements "will conduct their election campaign in a mutually correct way and will hold regular consultations in order to coordinate pushing through a Christian-orientated policy", the statement says.

Out of the 113 members of the KDH council present, 94 voted against a break-up of the KDH.

At a press conference following the council session, Klepac said the process of differentiation in the KDH started as early as last autumn and climaxed when a draft agreement on the principles of a state setup for Czechoslovakia was adopted at Milovy, South Moravia, February 9. The draft was worked out by a commission of experts of the Czech and Slovak regional parliaments. It

was rejected by the Slovak parliament presidium February 12 at which four out of six KDH members voted against the draft.

Klepac said four Slovak ministers, members of the KDH, support the new faction: Jozef Belcak (economics), Ivan Tirpak (environment), Jozef Krsek (food and agriculture) and Viliam Oberhauser (forestry and water management).

Immediately after the announcement of the creation of the national-orientated KDH faction, support for it was expressed by the Social Christian Union of Slovakia (SKUS), which entered the Slovak political scene at the beginning of February. The SKUS executive president Ladislav Roman, deputy to the federal parliament (independent), said the union's constituent congress at Piestany, West Slovakia, March 14 will discuss its future activity in the light of the latest developments within the KDH. Since its very beginnings, the SKUS has been shaped as an alternative to the KDH, with a strongly national-orientated programme, Roman said.

After the departure of the SKDH members, the rest of the KDH council decided to call an extraordinary KDH congress in Trnava, West Slovakia, March 28.

Seventy-three representatives of the SKDH last night met at a constituent meeting of the new movement. They decided to hold an SKDH constituent congress at Zvolen, Central Slovakia, March 28.

Klepac told journalists the movement will found SKDH clubs in the Slovak regional as well as in the federal parliaments. According to him, 11 deputies to the Slovak regional parliament and five to the federal parliament have joined the new faction.

The SKDH issued a declaration saying that its programme has four goals: spiritual renaissance of Slovakia, sovereignty of Slovakia and its international recognition, equality and freedom of all citizens, and full economic development of Slovakia.

Havel Wants Parliament To Revise Screening Law

AU1103114292 Prague CSTK in English 1647 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Text] Prague March 9 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel today said he hopes that the negative comments by the International Labor Organization (ILO) and the Council of Europe on Czechoslovakia's Screening Law will lead parliament to reexamine the law.

The Screening Law, passed by the Czechoslovak parliament last October, bans from high state and public posts former StB secret police agents and collaborators, former Communist Party officials and People's Militia members.

At a briefing Havel recalled his earlier suspicion that the law runs counter to an ILO convention and other European accords, as well as to Czechoslovakia's Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms.

Havel said he has asked the parliament to consider his draft amendment of the Screening Law.

Council of Europe Challenges Screening Law

LD0903174792 Prague CSTK in English 1451 GMT 7 Mar 92

[Text] Prague March 7 (CSTK)—Catherine Lalumiere, Council of Europe (CE) secretary-general, thinks the Czechoslovak screening law is pointed against big groups of people which are not exactly specified.

Lalumiere expresses her view in a letter of January 19, 1992, addressed to Alexander Dubcek, chairman of the Czecho-Slovak parliament. On December 18, 1991, Dubcek asked her to study the law and say whether or not it is in accord with the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights.

The screening law of October 4, 1991, bars for the next five years from public posts collaborators with the former secret police (STB), Czechoslovak Communist Party officials and members of the people's militia (Communist Party Armed Force).

In her letter, handed to CSTK by Dubcek last night, Lalumiere says that "if restrictions—whether of an administrative or legislative character—materially touch the rights of individiuals, they must be unequivocally applied on the individual, not collective basis, and on the basis of a decision by an independent court which discusses each case in the presence of the person concerned and which honours the principle of resumption of innocence.

Lalumiere says the institutions of a democartic state must require loyalty from persons they employ. "But this is present loyalty which canot be tested only by reference to facts or even presumptions from the past that are often difficult to prove in view of the character of the previous regime".

Deputies Confused on Screening Law, StB Files

AU1103181892 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 9 Mar 92 pp 1,13

[Branislav Janik report: "Screenings on a Seesaw"]

[Text] Prague—Parliament made at least two decisions on 4 March whose significance was only perceived after they were approved. This is not surprising. During voting on the amendments and supplements to the 17 November Commission's final report, even Chairman R. Battek feebly admitted that he had lost his bearings on what he would actually be voting for.

The resolution on the Commission's final report incorporates a Federal Government request that it prepare a government resolution or draft a legal measure giving citizens access to the files the StB [State Security] kept on them. That is, the German model should be adopted. A large majority of deputies approved the proposal by P. Dostal (Social Democratic Orientation), but the question is whether it can be implemented. Deputy Dostal told me that, in his opinion, in a democratic state it is essential to use such a law to eradicate the possibility of StB documents being misused and to minimize the possibility of blackmail. He got hold of the appropriate German law and recommended it, among others, to Interior Minister J. Langos. At the same time, it is clear to him that there is only a slight chance of the issue being discussed under this parliamentary arrangement.

There is very little time. The Federal Interior Ministry has not managed, even within the legal deadline, to prepare thousands of replies in accordance with the screenings law. Therefore, Minister Langos' statement that Deputy Dostal's proposal cannot be implemented technically is not surprising. Technical, factual, and definite implementation is more than problematic.

According to the Federal Interior Ministry Press Department, it is debatable whether the resolution is binding in the broadest sense of the word. However, they also argued that there is not enough money to begin—as the case may be—implementing this decision. If Deputy Dostal refers to the German model, let us remember that a German Government plenipotentiary was given 230 million Deutsch marks for its technical implementation and that a special office with a sufficient number of staff was established within the Interior Ministry.

Deputy Prime Minister P. Rychetsky, who has more than enough work, is responsible for legislation in M. Calfa's cabinet. Moreover, the resolution does not specify any deadline within which the government has to adopt the appropriate measures. Deputy P. Dostal wants to submit an interpellation to the deputy prime minister shortly, but I am afraid—justifiably—that the government will simply not manage to propose and implement these measures. The question is how much the future cabinet will feel itself bound by this resolution and, according to the election results, whether it will consider this to be its political will at all.

Deputy P. Toman, former spokesman of the former Commission, highlighted one important aspect of the issue—according to the resolution, every citizen whom it concerns should have the right to see the files. "All of this means that not only those persecuted or screened by the StB will have access to the files, but those who informed on them will also have access to them. Agents and other collaborators can refresh their memory on whom and on what they informed," he said bitterly.

The other decision made during Wednesday's parliament session was the adoption of a proposal put forward by M. Rocko (Civic Democratic Party). The Federal Assembly, in harmony with legal regulations, tasked its Presidium with opening the files the 17 November Commission worked with. Although it is known that the Commission worked with StB file registers, the way has in fact been cleared for the legal and across-the-board publication of screenings.

V. Benda (Christian Democratic Party-Liberal Democratic Party), who has campaigned for across-the-board publication from the very beginning, could not conceal his satisfaction. "Many deputies were totally unaware of the consequences of the way they voted, but the letter of the resolution is absolutely unequivocal—to acquaint the public with the contents of the StB file registers." However, Toman claims that this decision is a very complicated issue. No one can make an unequivocal decision about it. Not only the law on official secrecy and the law on archives (for example, the practice of making public information on people after 50 years), but also the Document on Fundamental Rights and Freedoms come into conflict with the decision made by our "qualified" deputies.

Interior Minister Langos maintains that, according to his interpretation, the adopted resolution does not relate to the StB file register and claims that it could relate to interrogation records or other materials. No one in fact knows what he means by "materials."

If we add to these two hot potatoes the Federal Assembly's recommendation to the government to obtain a list of KGB collaborators from the Russian Government and its recommendation that Commission members and other deputies be relieved of their oath of silence about matters connected with the Commission's findings, I have the unpleasant feeling that the screenings merry-go-round will not come to a stop soon and that the June elections will be more bitter than gall and wormwood.

NATO Official on Arms Industry Conversion

AU0903183092 Prague CSTK in English
1513 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Text] Bratislava March 5 (CSTK)— NATO could help Czechoslovakia in working out a new military-strategic conception, and in restructuring the Army and the military-industrial production, head of the NATO Public Relations Department Bram Triestram told journalists today.

The visiting NATO official met here with Slovak Deputy Minister for International Relations Jozef Dravecky to discuss Czech-Slovak relations and the process of converting the Czechoslovak arms industry to civilian production.

Deputies Highlight Arms Code Shortcomings

LD0603231592 Prague CSTK in English
1540 GMT 6 Mar 92

[Text] Prague March 6 (CSTK)—Three Czechoslovak parliament deputies today placed an armoured carrier

and a large gun in front of the parliament building to draw attention to short-comings in Czechoslovakia's current legal code, which allows for uncontrolled arms trade and the possession of illegal weapons.

Parliament was discussing a draft amendment to the law on the Czechoslovak federation, which would authorise Federal bodies to draw up legislation on controlling the arms trade, but postponed voting on the draft till Tuesday, March 10, when more deputies are expected to be present. Only about 100 deputies of the 300-strong parliament were present in the afternoon.

Parliament Deputy Michal Maly of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) told CSTK he and Milan Hruska of the ODS and Albert Cerny of the Association of Social Democrats (ASD) borrowed the armoured carrier from a used car shop that was selling it for only 49,000 crowns (1,663 USd). The gun was from a private collection and was not in serviceable condition.

The deputies said that companies and private individuals, including army officers, have been offering military equipment to other used car shops. Only an identity card is needed to purchase the weapons, they said. "Since the (Czechoslovak) Government has been unable for nearly two years to submit necessary draft laws and amendments, (on the arms trade) a group of deputies has done so in a very short time," the deputies said in a statement.

Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Minister Jozef Baksay said during the parliament debate that the government supports the proposed legislation. Then speaking in the capacity of deputy of the Slovak Government coalition party Civic Democratic Union-Public Against Violence (ODU-VPN), Baksay said a common state must have the necessary powers to decide on the export and import of arms and narcotics.

"Not even those seeking a looser union (between Czechoslovakia's two constituent republics) could want their children to be protected against drugs and narcotics differently in the Czech and the Slovak Republics. If they do not wish a common state, they will vote against (the amendment)," Baksay said.

Baksay Links Amendment to Opposition Aims

AU1103134792 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 7 Mar 92 pp 1,2

[Interview with Federal Foreign Trade Minister Jozef Baksay by Marta Csontosova; place and date not given: "Why Not Everyone on His Own?"]

[Text] [Csontosova] A sensitive and disagreeable issue has arisen recently in connection with jurisdiction, especially as it involves the production and sale of weapons, sources of energy, and radioactive and narcotic substances. In this regard, an initiative group of deputies would like to amend constitutional law No. 143/1968 during this penultimate joint Federal Assembly session. They would like to amend it so that trade in the aforementioned substances would come under the supervision of a federal body. Why, on the face of it, is reasonable independence—permitting the two republics to produce and sell what they want—unacceptable?

[Baksay] Of course, each republic can produce what it wants. However, we do not want the republican government to tell the producer what the enterprise should produce. I am not at all opposed to arms production, but I am opposed to the trade in military materials, drugs, narcotics, and other sensitive items not having a precisely defined legal framework. It is nonsense to vacate our position in a market in which we are successful, but it is necessary to give it a legal form. The draft amendment to the constitutional law, which the opposition views with such ill will, should serve this purpose.

[Csontosova] Do you not think the Slovak opposition is just perturbed by the curbs on weapons and military materials? After all, they can have no objections to the trade in psychotropic substances being legally regulated.

[Baksay] It is widely known that I pushed for the sale of tanks to Syria to ensure that ZTS [Heavy Machine Tool Enterprises] Martin could make enough to reconstruct and modernize its production. I do not think the opposition deputies are just allergic to the production of and trade in arms, but also to the fact that the draft law was submitted by a coalition group of deputies. This involves their political aversion and the vote on 10 March will reveal whether this political opposition is still operating on the basis of a joint state.

[Csontosova] Is this statement not a little too harsh?

[Baksay] No. If someone feels it is acceptable for children in the Slovak Republic to be protected differently from children in the Czech Republic, then he is no longer talking about a joint state.

Goncz Discusses Relations With Romania

AU1203111592 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 5 Mar 92 pp 1,4

[Part one of interview with Hungary's president Arpad Goncz, by Eugen Preda, special correspondent of Romanian Television; in Budapest on 26 February: "Hungarian-Romanian Relations Among the Priorities of Hungarian Foreign Policy"]

[Text] It is a calm, early spring morning in Budapest. It is 1018 on 26 February 1992 and I, together with my colleague Licica Jurca, are in a wing of the historical building of the Hungarian Parliament, in Budapest. The reason for our presence here is that the president of Hungary, Mr. Arpad Goncz, has agreed to grant me an interview.

[Preda] Mr. President, I read in an official publication from your Foreign Ministry, that you, in your capacity as head of the Hungarian state, are the symbol of national unity and the guarantee of the democratic process in Hungary. You travel a lot in the world and are a famous lecturer. Let me add that you are a person of humanist orientation, because you are a lawyer, a writer, a translator, including a translator of Faulkner and Hemingway.

[Goncz] A publisher too, because I used to be a journalist.

[Preda] I was thinking about the fact that you were also the president of the Writers' Union.

[Goncz] Yes, I was.

[Preda] However, permit me to ask you a question that does not refer to the political field, not even world politics, but a question about your personal destiny.

[Goncz] As far as I am concerned, my life has been quite varied. The war ended exactly in the year I finished my university studies. In those days, I was already participating in the Hungarian anti-Nazi resistance. I was fighting, weapon in hand, I was wounded, and later, it was only natural to become involved in political life. I was secretary to Bela Kovacs, general secretary of the Independent Smallholders' Party, and I was a secretary in the Parliament but not a deputy. Later, in 1948, the change of system took place in Hungary. Then I became a worker in an enterprise, I worked in agriculture, and until 1956 I attended courses at the Agrarian University—without graduating from it—and I was mainly involved in the area of soil protection. After 1956, I received a life sentence for my political activity, and I stayed in prison for six years. There, in prison, I learned the English language and when I was released, I worked in an office that was making translations, first I was a specialized translator, later I translated fiction. After that, I lived as a free-lance writer and translator, virtually until I became the president of the Writers' Union, respectively until I became the president of the Republic of Hungary. Today, I am here before you and I am answering your questions. I believe that I can do this because I have done so many things in my life. I know virtually all strata of Hungarian society, but not from sociology studies—I have learned things through experience and I learned about people's lives. And if today I want to sum up my life, which at times has seemed very complicated, I have to admit that still it was quite consistent, because all the turns and all detours served toward the accumulation of material that I need now.

[Preda] Mr. President, could you tell me now some of your current concerns?

[Goncz] It is very difficult for me to talk about it because in my capacity as president, first of all I have to adapt to our immediate needs. As a matter of fact, a president does not have a program, he has a life. One part of this life is filled with protocol obligations, another part is made up of negotiations, talks with foreign and Hungarian politicians, and a third part is devoted to visits throughout the country, and there is, let us say, a fourth part, too, devoted to the recovery of one's forces and to study.

[Preda] Mr. President, what subject do you currently prefer to study?

[Goncz] First of all the issue of the spontaneous processes that are taking place within Hungarian society, processes that are difficult to follow because a great many of them are taking place below the level of statistical phenomena. Then, the processes—which are also spontaneous—in the Hungarian economy, quantified as much as possible. And then, apart from these things, we have the controlled processes, which we would like to be controlled but there is no law which, through its side effects, would not in one way or another have an influence on the social processes, even when they are codified, for example, in the area of tariffs and taxes.

[Preda] If I remember correctly, last year in November you held a lecture in London on the issue of Hungary's transformation, within a changing Europe. How do you view the current economic changes and what are the prospects for these changes in Hungary?

[Goncz] We are amidst transformations, that is, in the middle of a transition period with all its positive aspects as well as its difficulties. The reform processes had started earlier in Hungary than in the other East and Central European countries. Without wishing to put everything in a chronological order, probably, at least in the field of law endorsement and economic legislation, we are ahead of the other East European countries because we have already established the greater part of the juridical framework for our economic activity. It is perhaps thanks to this that Hungary has received from the West the highest amount of productive capital, more than 50 percent, almost 60 percent, of the entire productive capital that has been granted to the three Central European countries. We are an associate member of the European Community. We have overcome the stage of spontaneous privatization processes. We have made the

first steps toward complete privatization, a process that is far from being concluded and the forms of this privatization have not been definitively established. However, we have already established the institutions—not very many of them yet—that can facilitate this process. I am thinking here first of all of the network of commercial banks, to the stock exchange respectively. As a result, we can state that we have advanced a great deal compared to what we had in earlier stages. This fact is supported by much statistical data that proves our successes and the healthy nature of our trends. The Hungarian economy succeeded in holding up after the collapse of the Eastern market. We have no market difficulties whatsoever, because Hungary's hard currency dealings have reached previously unknown proportions. Our balance of payments is positive. Certainly, I do not want to say that we have overcome all our difficulties and problems, because all these, the transition and the first steps in changing the structure, are followed by a high level of unemployment, which has to be overcome and kept under control. We have the inflation under control, we are systematically paying our debts, and on time, thus we can ensure our country's credit needs. Certainly, all these mean a two-way process: on the one hand, a process of disintegration is taking place in our country, the old structure is disintegrating and a process of integration and the continuous formation of the new structure is taking place, which is spreading equally within industry, the banking system, and agriculture. Summing up these phenomena, I could say that we are far from finalizing this process but we have started off in a direction that is promising and should be the right one. The number of small and medium-sized enterprises are increasing dynamically and a new stratum of entrepreneurs, of business people, and bourgeoisie, which will probably in the not very distant future be able to take over the role of the state in managing our economy. I could visualize our life with less problems, but unfortunately we still have enough of these.

Deputy Bogdan Reviews Recent Visit to Romania

AU1203093992 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 10 Mar 92 p 3

[Unattributed interview with Hungarian Democratic Forum Parliamentary Deputy Emil Bogdan; place and date not given: "We Cannot Count on Quick Results—The Chances of Agreement With Romania"]

[Excerpts] A parliamentary delegation led by Emil Bogdan recently reciprocated a visit by a similar Romanian delegation in October 1991, a delegation of the Romanian branch of the Interparliamentary Union. We asked Bogdan about his experiences in Bucharest and the chances of improving bilateral relations. [passage omitted]

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] What subject received the most attention in your talks with your Romanian colleagues?

[Bogdan] Given the fact that we developed quite good relations, even friendship, with our hosts during their visit in Budapest, we were able to talk openly about things that the press was treating too stridently. It is another matter that a conciliatory tone in public is so unpopular that it can hardly be heard. The subjects discussed the most were the so-called Entz affair and some critical passages from Lajos Fur's distorted speech in Miskolc. Much has been said about this, during the open talks and in the news conference held at the embassy. It seems that we succeeded in calming the sudden uproar simply by completing the text with the sentences left out by the press agencies. The original text did not only say that Hungary would do everything to defend the Hungarians living in the Carpathian basin, but that Hungary would do everything allowed by democracy, diplomacy, and negotiations or the international political conduct prevailing in Europe. [passage omitted]

We cannot count on quick and spectacular results, but we can count on long-term results from persistent work. We have a lot ahead of us, first of all in getting the other side to know us, because people are generally afraid of things they do not know. This also applies to politics. This requires confidence, however, and learning each other's political jargon. [passage omitted]

Regional cooperation provides serious opportunities, but many people on the Romanian side still see some kind of hidden revisionist intentions behind this cooperation. Suspicion will disappear once the results of such cooperation emerge. In any case, these two nations have now received a historic opportunity. Deciding their own fates is their own responsibility, and no foreign interests are shaping their futures. We must not miss this opportunity.

Hungarian, Slovak Ministers Discuss Trade

LD0603143292 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 4 Mar 92

[Report by Julia Torda on meeting between Bela Kadar, minister of international economic relations, and Jozef Belcak Slovak Minister of Economy place and date not given]

[Text] Hungarian-Slovak trade has shown some improvement in the first months of the year. However, interest is still greater than the number of deals made, said Bela Kadar, minister of international economic relations, and Slovak Minister of Economy Jozef Belcak. Julia Torda reports.

[Torda] After the collapse of the CEMA market, our trade with our northern neighbors fell by 40%, despite the fact that Czechoslovakia is the only country in the region which is not indebted to Hungary. This is why the two ministers would like more Slovak-Hungarian joint ventures to be formed. A Hungarian-Slovak investment bank will also be set up in the future to support joint ventures. The ministers stressed several times the two

countries' interdependence and the need for cooperation, regardless of political differences.

[Begin recording] [Kadar] Neither Slovakia nor Hungary can afford to give up the advantages of cooperation due to any kind of unfavorable circumstances. In the coming year a great number of new entrepreneurs appearing in the wake of privatization have more modest expectations concerning the expansion of the internal market. [end recording]

[Belcak in vernacular fading into Hungarian report] Despite this, there is a great need to liven up relations, added the Slovak minister of economy. The Visegrad 3 [not further specified] would like to join the western European energy systems together, and the increase of tourism would also be extremely useful, as well as the creation of joint duty-free areas.

[Torda] I learned from Bela Kadar that another issue raised at the talks was the fact that in order to end Hungary's one-sided energy dependence, it would join the oil pipeline which will be built between Schwechat and Pozsony [Czechoslovak name Bratislava] and, together with Slovakia, urges that the Adria oil pipeline be put into operation as soon as possible. The minister of international economic relations also refuted the recently spread news that Czechoslovakia is preparing to introduce market protection measures, which would naturally affect Hungarian products, too.

Industry Minister Views Infrastructure, Tasks

AU1203093692 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 10 Mar 92 p 8

[Interview with Industry and Trade Minister Ivan Szabo by "Gergely"; place and date not given: "Reducing Inflation Means Accelerating Economic Ventures"]

[Excerpts] Can we, and should we, speak of continuity or rather a smooth transition? Not generally, but a new minister took over the Ministry of Industry and Trade a few months ago. Ivan Szabo, who is both an engineer and an economist, arrived with optimism and ideas. Although this change in leadership could also mean continuity, Szabo's ambitious program also hides something else. [passage omitted]

[Gergely] Six months ago, the industry minister thought it was urgently necessary to take unprofitable enterprises under government control. Lately, the privatization program has gathered momentum. Is this restructuring preventing losses more efficiently? What is your position?

[Szabo] The main goal of this program is to enable Europe and the rest of the world to understand the structure of our enterprises. Even a stock company with 100 percent public ownership is more understandable to a foreign capitalist than a state enterprise "under government control" or one "governed by an enterprise council." [passage omitted]

[Gergely] How can we interpret the industrial policy formulated by the industry minister, namely that the major strategic enterprises will be taken over by the State Property Corporation?

[Szabo] Our industrial policy concept is aimed at providing long-term direction for Hungarian industry and its marketing possibilities in the current international economy. No one should expect my forthcoming industrial policy to provide enterprise-level solutions and spell out to each enterprise what to produce and where to market its goods. We can expect this policy to tell us which industrial sectors are hopeless for us, where we should invite and direct incoming foreign capital, and how to resolve our shortages. [passage omitted]

[Gergely] On 31 December 1991, there were 31 industrial ministry enterprises in bankruptcy proceedings. Almost all of them were large-scale enterprises exporting to the Soviet market. How does the industrial policy treat such events? Will it allow the market to decide, or will it try to "save" certain enterprises on the basis of long-term interests?

[Szabo] There are many industry ministry enterprises going through bankruptcy and we can expect many more this year. Some of these enterprises will probably be dissolved. Under such circumstances, the task of the economy and of our industrial policy is to examine and consider the facts and decide whether there are long-term trends or temporary problems behind all of this, such as problems deriving from restructuring, or leadership and personnel problems. [passage omitted]

[Gergely] Tourism, the success story of the last two years, is now in a difficult situation because of the international political situation. The political situation will greatly affect this year's achievements too, but you cannot privatize tourism on your own. What do you think about all this?

[Szabo] Indeed, tourism was successful over the last two years. Officially, Hungary ranks fifth worldwide in number of visitors, ahead of Austria. Hungary is also in 48th place in tourism income. Therefore, the problem is that the people who visit us stay a short time and spend little money. The main reasons are that our infrastructure is undeveloped, there is little civilized entertainment, and the quality of our services and some of our prices continue to lag behind the quality and prices prevailing in Europe and the rest of the world. [passage omitted]

Border Guards Deny Foreigners Entry

LD0903172792 Budapest MTI in English 1319 GMT 6 Mar 92

[Text] Budapest, March 6 (MTI)—Nearly 376,000 foreigners from 70 countries have been barred from entering Hungary over five months, due to lack of a required sum of money or of documents, Hungarian Border Guard spokesman Janos Zubek told MTI today.

Hungary introduced restrictions on entry on 4 October 1991. Almost 370,000 of those sent back from the border were from former socialist countries: 329,000 from Romania, 16,000 from Poland, 9,800 from the former Soviet Union, 8,500 from Bulgaria, 3,600 from Yugoslavia and 3,000 from Czechoslovakia. Nearly 1,700 Chinese, 691 Turkish and 280 Austrian citizens have also been denied entry to Hungary, Zubek said.

Environmental Groups Protest Danube Dam System

AU1103145892 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 9 Mar 92 p 3

["Statements" by the Danube Circle and the Federation of Christian Intelligentsia "on the Bos Issue"; place and date not given: "The Interstate Agreement Has To Be Terminated"]

[Text] After the Slovak Parliament made its decision, the Danube Circle and the Federation of Christian Intelligentsia sent the following statements to our editorial office:

"The situation of the Danube has become critical again. On 6 March, the Slovak Parliament voted for continuing the construction at Bos, giving a snappy answer to Prime Minister Jozsef Antall's letter, which is an unacceptable answer for Hungary. There is no room for such exchanges of letters in the future.

"At the same time, the suddenly increasing number of signs in Hungary in recent days (mainly the stand taken by the Parliament's economic committee in opposition to the existing parliamentary decisions and the environmental committee's forward-looking proposals, and the secret negotiations of Environment Ministers Sandor K. Keresztes and J. Vavrousek in Budapest) indicate that, somewhere, at the pinnacles of power, a compromise is being prepared, which, in this issue, would mean a complete surrender and the betrayal of the ecological and Hungarian interests: These two interests coincide in this case.

"It seems that we also have to hold ourselves responsible for trusting the current ruling powers for too long. Under these circumstances, the Danube Circle is again calling everyone for a broad nationwide protest against the Danubesaurus [name given to the construction at Bos].

"Therefore, we demand that the Hungarian Government immediately terminate the 1977 agreement, which could be contested on many points from an international legal point of view! We also demand that Environment Minister Sandor K. Keresztes, who is mainly responsible for the Hungarian Government's delaying tactics and thus is considerably damaging the Hungarian side's negotiating position, be immediately discharged!

"If these demands are not met then the Danube Circle maintains the right to hold demonstrations in the interest of the Danube." The Danube Circle.

"It is Slovakia's and Hungary's fundamental political and economic interest that neither the original Bos-Nagymaros Dam [BNV] system, nor any of its modified versions become implemented in the Danube valley. Filling it in should not even be attempted! In the meantime, the Slovak Government is continuing to build the edifice, stressing the importance of completing the BNV. Demanding new research and investigations is only an excuse and playing for time; the real aim is to complete the construction in the meantime.

"We ask that, in order to clarify the situation and to avoid further blackmailing, the government unilaterally terminate the agreement immediately and agree with the CSFR Government on halting the construction and then restoring the natural conditions. We demand that the Hungarian, Slovak, Czech, and world public be informed professionally and extensively in the press! We demand that the two governments make use of the international financial support available for the purposes of environmental protection!" The Environmental Group of the Federation of Christian Intelligentsia.

NATO Chief Arrives in Warsaw on Official Visit

LD1103192992 Warsaw PAP in English 1717 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Text] Warsaw, March 11—NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner and his wife came to Warsaw for an official visit on Wednesday afternoon.

Manfred Woerner will attend plenary talks at the Foreign Ministry later today and will be received by President Lech Walesa and Prime Minister Jan Olszewski on Thursday. This is the second visit of Mr. Woerner who first time came to Poland in September, 1990.

Interested in Furthering Relations

LD1203091592 Warsaw PAP in English 2316 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Text] Warsaw, March 11—Following his talks with Poland's Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski Wednesday, NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner declared that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization attaches special significance to relations with Poland and announced further development of mutual ties.

In Woerner's opinion Poland is an important country not only because of her size but also because of her history and relations with neighbour states.

Skubiszewski came out in favour of the development of "step by step" relations with NATO. In his opinion Poland stands a good chance to become a NATO member. However, he declined to predict when this would take place.

"The point is that we should act towards realizing that prospect. It would be easy to spoil things if we fail to concentrate on concrete moves in the political sphere," Skubiszewski declared. Woerner said the alliance strives to build a new system of European security based on three pillars, namely NATO as the foundation of stability, the European Community and the Western European Union that would safeguard the political union, and the CSCE (Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe) process as the paneuropean backbone of that system. On Thursday, Woerner will be received by President Lech Walesa and Prime Minister Jan Olszewski and will have talks with Defence Minister Jan Parys. Also on Thursday, he will inaugurate the international seminar on security in Central Europe and prospects for Central Europe and NATO.

Skubiszewski, Kozyrev Agree on Treaty Terms

AU1103141392 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7-8 Mar 92 p 1

[Report by Copenhagen correspondent Teresa Stylinska: "Polish-Russian Treaty Ready To Sign"]

[Text] The meeting between the Polish and Russian chiefs of diplomacy here in Copenhagen ended in an unexpected way. Krzysztof Skubiszewski and Andrey Kozyrev agreed on the text of a Polish-Russian treaty of friendship and neighborly cooperation. This is a breakthrough in our relations with Moscow, and also suggests that the two ministers have reached a consensus on the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Poland. Therefore, President Walesa's Moscow visit, scheduled for the second half of March, now seems likely to go ahead. There are only two signatures missing beneath the treaty, those of Lech Walesa and Boris Yeltsin.

Fear of growing nationalism and problems of ethnic minorities were the main topics discussed at a joint news conference of all the foreign ministers taking part in the Copenhagen talks. Most of them spoke on this subject, and Skubiszewski said more than anyone else. "There is a danger of nationalism in the Baltic region," he said. "This is a problem for all of Europe, including the west. The question of minorities requires particular attention. One of the tasks of the commissioner for ethnic affairs should be to indicate problems and issue warnings when they occur." Skubiszewski recalled Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek's proposal to locate the commissioner, a post proposed by Russia, at the Bureau of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights in Warsaw. At that, Lithuanian Foreign Minister Algirdas Saudargas suggested that the commissioner have his office in Vilnius and merely cooperate with the Warsaw office. The journalists were told that the appointment of a commissioner would be discussed by a committee of senior officials during a meeting in Tallinn.

Skubiszewski told Polish reporters that he had taken advantage of the Copenhagen conference in order to discuss the situation of the Polish minority in Lithuania. "I pointed out the urgency of this question. Minister Saugardas wants to have it settled, but there are other forces active in Lithuania. He attaches certain hopes to the present session of the Lithuanian Supreme Council."

As for the important issues concerning the Baltic region, such as environmental protection and ways of financing it, Finnish Foreign Minister Paavo Vaeyrynen mentioned the plan to conclude a new convention and the fact that the EEC was going to allocate 15 billion ECU's to this area over the next five years. Another important issue is the safety of nuclear power stations, to which Sweden drew attention. Replying to a question from a Lithuanian journalist about the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Lithuania, Kozyrev said that this is a "very important matter. It is also important to discuss the financial aspect." The conference hall was packed with reporters but the Danish press has not displayed particular interest in the conference.

Prior to the news conference, during a three-hour meeting the ministers adopted a declaration defining the scope of the Council of Baltic States established the day before, i.e. to support democratic institutions, provide economic aid, resolve humanitarian, environmental, and communications problems, and encourage regional cooperation.

Letters of Exchange Signed with Russia

LD1203103292 Warsaw PAP in English 2006 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Text] Warsaw March 11—Deputy Minister for Foreign Economic Cooperation Michal Frackowiak and his Russian counterpart Vladimir Rabotiazev signed here Tuesday letters of exchange defining conditions of goods supplies for this year, the ministry spokesman Andrzej Duszczyk reported Wednesday. The letters provide for an increase in Russian supplies of crude oil and gas to Poland, among others, in exchange for Polish coal, sulphur and medicines.

Improved Border Cooperation With Germany Urged

LD0903230392 Warsaw PAP in English 1616 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Text] Bonn, March 9—"Clearence conditions at all Polish-German border crossings are terrible and the waiting time does not correspond to any Western European standards. There are too few border crossings and they are insufficiently equipped. We have to do something about it because people are getting impatient" Marcin Rybicki, under-secretary of state at the Central Planning Office (CUP) and co-chairman of the Polish-German Inter-Governmental Committee for Regional and Border Cooperation said Monday.

Marcin Rybicki, who just completed his working visit to Germany, added that the biggest Polish western border crossing at Swiecko would be modernised. A new bridge over the Odra River and a five kilometre-long stretch of a highway on the Polish side of the border will be built. The project, estimated at 50 million Deutsche marks, is to be financed by the German side and the construction work will begin still this year. New decisions concerning Polish-German border cooperation are to be adopted during a session of the Polish-German Committee for Regional and Border Cooperation to take place in Frankfurt an der Oder on March 25-26. It will be decided then how many new border crossings are needed and what the procedure of clearance should be like.

The under-secretary of state also said that more activity was needed in border regions. Polish-German undertakings will be implemented to the benefit of regions on both sides of the Oder River. "It is important to find sources of financing for all undertaken projects," Marcin Rybicki added.

Marcin Rybicki expressed belief that the first Polish-German institution financing common undertakings and oriented particularly towards the provision of support for small enterprises will be created in the near future.

Olszewski Seeks Approval for Program, Budget

LD1203112592 Warsaw PAP in English 2301 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Text] Warsaw, March 11—At his meeting with the Solidarity parliamentary caucus on Wednesday, Prime Minister Jan Olszewski stressed the importance of winning social approval for the government programme.

In advance of the upcoming parliamentary debate on the 1992 budget bill the prime minister wants to meet once again the caucuses, among which the Solidarity parliamentary floor group constitutes a considerable force, in addition to being a representation of working people, government spokesman Marcin Gugulski said. This latter aspect is essential because in the prime minister's opinion the programme, whether it will be passed by the Sejm (lower house) or not, has little chance for successful implementation without social approval, Gugulski added. The government is going to present the budget bill to the Sejm by March 23.

Once again Olszewski drew attention of the Solidarity parliamentarians to the small room the government has for a manoeuvre between the threat of hyperinflation and pressure to continue the to-date course which, in the government's opinion, leads to an economic collapse, Gugulski said.

That is why the budget bill sets the deficit precisely at 5 per cent, he added and denied allegations that even a 10 per cent deficit may be expected.

Leader of the Solidarity caucus Bogdan Borusewicz said his parliamentary group is in principle well-disposed towards the programme, but will decide whether to support it only after the government presents the budget bill to the house. Apart from social approval at home, the government will seek support for its programme from foreign institutions, including the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and other financial organizations, Gugulski said.

Olszewski Adressses Provincial Governors

LD1103235992 Warsaw PAP in English 2221 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Text] Warsaw, March 11—Prime Minister Jan Olszewski accused mass media on Wednesday of primitive manipulation and propaganda saying that "violent and unobjective criticism of the government has nothing to do with its actual performance and the documents it has worked out."

Addressing a meeting of provincial governors in Warsaw, Olszewski stated mass media were charging the government with plans to print uncovered money, depart from the free market system and return to the centrally-planned economy. "We take these attacks calmly. Society can differentiate between manipulation and the truth. We will be judged for what we do and not for what is written about us," he said.

Referring to the recent rejection of the government socio- economic programme by the Sejm (lower house), Premier Olszewski declared that despite that the Government was determined to perform its duties. "It is criticised on two sides: some charge it with a departure from the line of reforms, others say the Government's plan is not bold enough. We regret that but make no tragedy out of it," he stated and added the rejection of the document had no legal significance but only a programmatic one as it defined the degree of support for the Government.

According to head of the Central Planning Office Jerzy Eysymontt the only way to improve the economic situation in Poland was to reduce consumption and give priority to investment.

He said it was inevitable to reconstruct the principles of granting subsidies and the whole sphere of social security. This means a departure from all subsidies except those to credits, he said and added that it was also necessary to improve the budgetary situation, among other things, by reducing spending on social policy and curbing the growth of pensions.

Among planned austerity measures Finance Minister Andrzej Olechowski listed the curbing of growing spending on social security, the beginning of capitalisation of fees paid to the Zus Social Insurance Institution, and the introduction of a more rational employment in the budget-financed sector, especially in education.

Speaking about a new programme of privatisation, to be worked out shortly, Minister Eysymontt underlined good firms should be supported while inefficient ones had to be liquidated. "All these changes will entail a growth in unemployment this year," he warned.

As the next stage in its work the Government is to go on with the reform of administration. "An attempt to maintain the old structures over the past two and a half years has resulted in their extreme inefficiency," Premier Olszewski stated and added that competence and the approach to state institutions would be the sole criterion in assessing work of civil servants. "No party or political criteria will be taken into account," he declared.

According to head of the Office of the Council of Ministers Wojciech Wlodarczyk the number of administration officials has to be reduced by some 20 per cent. The prime minister promised the governors the state would meet its budget obligations and local governments would be given freedom in administering funds allocated to them.

Deputy Questions Prime Minister on Media

LD1003205692 Warsaw PAP in English 1854 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Text] Warsaw, March 10—Deputy Aleksander Malachowski of the Solidarity of Labour asked the prime minister in an interpellation to explain what is the government's strategic vision of Polish information activities and promotion abroad.

Malachowski also warns against converting the Polish radio and TV, as well as the Polish Press Agency PAP, into 100 percent state-owned companies because that would directly subordinate these media to the government acting on behalf of the owner and the government would be in full control over information.

Deputy Malachowski also asks what are the preventive measures planned to ensure that state administration will not have a chance to interfere in the process of free information flow.

Iliescu Reviews Opposition to Ceaucescu

AU1103132692 Bucharest DIMINEATA Supplement in Romanian 7-8 Mar 92 p 3

["Part two" of interview with President Ion Iliescu by Editor Rochebin Darius Noel of the Swiss newspaper JOURNAL DE GENEVA; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] [Noel] Mr. President, here is my second group of questions. We have noted that 48 percent of the Romanians say (that is a tremendous figure according to EEC polls) that they are disappointed with the market economy and their poor standard of living. I think that in Russia that figure has reached 35 percent. With these figures being very important, are you afraid of the people's reaction?

[Iliescu] From an objective viewpoint, this reaction is understandable. The popular reaction to Ceausescu's totalitarian regime was mainly determined by the rough living conditions, the deteriorated economic conditions, the crises and shortages of the centralized economy, and the sufferings of a material nature: food supplies, heat, and energy.

Everyone thought that after Ceausescu's downfall it would take a few days or months for things to change for the better and that living conditions would improve. A market economy means an advanced economy, and people believed that in a matter of one or two years Romania would reach the standard of Germany, France, Switzerland, and other countries. Living conditions deteriorated, however, so the disappointment can be understood. Everyone welcomes democracy, but democracy should offer better living conditions. This means that it is more important to promote economic reform and develop economic efficiency more rapidly so that social problems may be solved. Then people will trust the idea of the market economy. Otherwise, the people just see everything as a slogan. It means nothing unless it is reflected in living conditions.

[Noel] I want to proceed to my second series of questions referring especially to you and your past. Mr. President, I know that your father was a faithful communist. [passage omitted]

[Iliescu] My father worked on the railroads and was a militant trade unionist. [passage omitted] He never belonged to the nomenklatura, he had no privileges. [passage omitted] I have always been a nonconformist and I have always had problems, as well as more or less open direct or indirect conflict with officials and activists who are characterized by very inflexible behavior. This became more obvious when I developed more or less direct relations with Ceausescu, and in 1971 I was eliminated from the party leadership...

[Noel] We will come back to this subject. Mr. President, we know that for all communists and all Romanians the horizon was limited to the existing regime, so that a total break with the situation was not possible. At what point, however, did you have your greatest doubts about the values of that system? What are the main stages of your development?

[Iliescu] We have to say that there have been interesting and important things in the development of the country and the people's thinking. The first affirmation of an independent attitude in the country and in its political leadership occurred with the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Romania. This was the only case where Soviet troops withdrew after the war. This happened in 1958, during the Gheorghiu-Dej regime when action was taken in the sense of national interests, something which the people appreciated. In that period, the popularity of the party's political leadership increased. A certain liberalism toward political prisoners and various other figures who were suffering because of their links with other people also developed. That was a period of political and cultural opening which meant liberalization for intellectuals, and was followed in 1964 by Romania's firm opposition to the trends for integration within the CEMA. That was the time when Romania was very appreciated internationally because of its resistance to the Soviet Union, which wanted to integrate all these socialist countries into a more directly controlled economic system. After this, in 1965-1968, there was a period of interesting activity which mobilized intellectuals around the country's political leadership. This period was characterized by the attitude toward the 1968 intervention in Czechoslovakia. That is when national unity developed around the leadership. I was in the center of those events. That was the time when my political activism was, perhaps, most conspicuous, and I have many friends in the country's intellectual circles from that time who were harboring ideas of political independence and sovereignty that culminated, undoubtedly, with the events in Czechoslovakia.

Then came 1970-71, when Ceausescu began to promote his personality cult and imposed a policy of total party domination...

[Noel] A question which could be properly be called a joke, but is important in the light of history: Is it true that on the flight back from China you had an important difference with Ceausescu, which began your descent into disgrace?

[Iliescu] That is correct. The whole conflict was marked by that discussion on the Korean and Chinese experience.

[Noel] Is it true that the Ceausescus were very disappointed because they viewed you as their successor?

[Iliescu] Perhaps. I could not tell.

[Noel] Mr. President, I had a similar discussion with Mr. Barladeanu on the evolution of the awareness of the Romanian nomenklatura, and he said that it was a very important moment when the nomenklatura became aware of the economic defects of the regime. He told me how shocked he was to see his brother-in-law, a dentist in

Geneva, live better than a nomenklatura official here. Was this economic awareness becoming decisive for you, so to speak, and for the people around you?

[Iliescu] More than that, because we understood very well that this process of increasing the economic potential of a country and of improving the standard of living is an accumulation process that takes time, and that the difference between pre-war Romania and the other countries in West Europe was considerable. We knew that it is not easy to improve economic potential even if we bear in mind all the efforts made to achieve this accumulation, as the economy was dominated by a rather primitive concept of industry, specifically heavy industry, planning, and centralized leadership.

I think that there was an important moment that could have marked an opening. In 1967 a national conference was held on economic issues, at which the participants talked about the market economy as an objective reality of the present-day world and about the fact that the socialist countries are engaged in a uniform international economy. It was said that whether or not market economy principles are taken into consideration, they continue to function. It was necessary to proceed to an opening in this respect and to lay the basis for practices and mechanisms that characterize the market economy by using a certain experience gained in planning and, of course, by using the appropriate methods and means. Throughout the world, state interference, or rather presence, is a given—not through administrative methods but by bearing in mind the laws of the market. These discussions, which were very interesting, should have been followed with tangible measures, but they were hampered by Ceausescu from the very beginning. He had no understanding of the economy.

[Noel] Based on your own experience, what was the decisive point for ideological reorientation?

[Iliescu] Immediately after the events in Czechoslovakia, I think. Of course, an opening had taken place previously. We began to have access to broader political, economic, and social literature and we came to know more people. I visited a few Western countries, the first being France in 1956 when I attended the UNEF [Emergency Force in the Middle East] congress...

[Noel] What other activities did you carry out at that time?

[Iliescu] ...The intellectual opening of our society and people, which we had lacked, started taking shape. We began to think more, to read, and to draw conclusions about the disharmony between realities and principles.

[Noel] Mr. President, summing up what I have said, do you think that, in all these changes that have taken place in the East, as Mr. Gorbachev has sometimes said, there have been occasions where the nomenklatura refrained from opposition and therefore supported the downfall of communism? Could you briefly describe this phenomenon?

[Iliescu] This phenomenon can be noted everywhere, but Romania has a few peculiarities. In other countries one can note that changes have taken place within the system and sometimes even at the initiative of the political leadership.

In Hungary, for instance, an intellectual opening in politics and economics occurred during Kadar's time, when research was carried out on promoting the market economy even under those conditions, that is, even under Soviet occupation.

In Czechoslovakia after 1965, teams of economists conducted studies on economic reform which yielded some results and influenced certain economic, social, and political concepts.

In the Soviet Union, Gorbachev's generation also paved the way for a period of searching and even action aimed at renewing society. It is clear, however, that in such a large system inertia is also very great and processes are much more complex than probably expected. Along with the economic issues, which were very serious, the seriousness of international relations within this multinational complex was not understood. This downfall of the empire—a downfall that probably should have happened after World War I but lasted another 70 years under the protection of the Soviets—began as an inevitable process, in light of history. Romania, however, despite the fact that there were signs of opening even in the 1960-64 period which could have launched the opening process in East Europe, became the most closed country. This was determined by Ceausescu's personal characteristics. He installed a special kind of totalitarian regime that completely stifled any intention or tendency to speak of opening and renewal. This created a serious situation, because processes continued to develop and the crisis phenomena multiplied and worsened because of a corrupt and primitive economic policy. This led to a popular explosion, although there were numerous people who were thinking about these phenomena in other countries, and who were aware that these processes would become more serious and result in action by the opposition forces.

[Noel] Thank you very much, Mr. President.

Roman Comments On Rift With Iliescu

AU1203105792 Bucharest REALITATEA ROMANEASCA in Romanian 6 Mar 92 p 6

[Interview with Petre Roman, national leader of the National Salvation Front, by Italian paper IL GIORNALE in Bucharest on 28 February: "The Communist Trombones Are Still in Power in Romania"]

[Text] In the most elegant Bucharest district, surrounded by parks and old villas, far away from the monstrous Ceausescu architectonics, there is a superb villa in the middle of a park. This villa—which formerly belonged to Magda Lupescu, mistress of King Carol II—hosts the

headquarters of the National Salvation Front [FSN]. There is much agitation here! Phones are ringing, the Olivetti 7055 copier is working without interruption, the employees are frantically hitting the keys of their typewriters, pausing just briefly to watch the most tender scenes of the American serial film "The Voice of the Heart" broadcast in English with Romanian captions by the television company.

The place is an anthill, crowded with politicians, starting with very important senators and ending with a peasant, who has just been elected mayor of some forgotten Transylvanian village. All of them want to talk with the great boss of the FSN, the young Petre Roman, ex-prime minister, now openly fighting against the man who eliminated him last September, Romanian President (and FSN member) Ion Iliescu. A girl called Cristina, Roman's super-efficient and beautiful secretary, clad in a dress sporting leopard spots, is ordering the line of those who have come to see her boss, the most important political figure of the country. After having waited for six hours, our turn finally comes.

[IL GIORNALE] Mr. Roman, compared with the election results of 1990, the FSN has lost votes, but it continues to be the first party in the country. Are you satisfied with this?

[Roman] Yes! We succeeded in the provinces. We had poorer results in the larger towns and in Bucharest, above all. In my opinion, this is due to the fact that the shock caused by the transition from the communist system to a market economy was far greater in large cities. Our huge industrial enterprises got stuck, like elephants in quicksand. Our infrastructure proved to be totally unsuitable to cope with the new situation. Unemployment grew considerably. It has really been a shock.

[IL GIORNALE] General elections are going to be held in May. Do you think the results will be consistent with those of the local elections?

[Roman] I would say yes, but I would also add that you will witness a greater dynamic on our behalf. The FSN could win new positions, so as to reach about 44-45 percent of the votes.

[IL GIORNALE] Iliescu allegedly wants to build a grand coalition government with the participation of the FSN and the current opposition parties, having the liberal Campeanu lead it. After all, the liberals are already present in the Stolojan government.

[Roman] Yes, Iliescu is thinking about a grand coalition, about a monstrous coalition. I cannot predict its future; concerning our next government, I would like to say that if there ever was a moment when the FSN and the Democratic Convention (the alliance of the main opposition parties) should have cooperated, it was last September, when democracy itself was at stake, when Iliescu—overruling the government—called the miners, then signed an agreement with them, which led to my dismissal from my position as prime minister. That was an illegal action, a blow to the democratization process. Well, in those days I did not see any of the opposition parties clearly stating their position and defending democracy. The only important thing for Campeanu and his allies was to see that I was gone. In those moments there was a genuine need for a grand coalition.

[IL GIORNALE] How did the break between you and Iliescu occur?

[Roman] Well, one thing led to the other. I asked the president, as early as September 1990, to remove all people who had closely collaborated with Ceausescu from his surroundings. In February 1991 I repeated this request, urging him even more to do that. I told him, among other things, that it was not possible to let Magureanu become chief of the secret service, as he was using the old Securitate methods and ideology, being a man who interferes in the political life of the country and manipulates the files of Ceausescu's police. I also briefed him about the obstacles I had been bumping into whenever I talked to members of his most intimate team. I requested him to take a clear stand in this respect and get rid of his entourage, of the old communists. Almost all his counselors draw their roots from that ideology, continuing to pursue the same type of goals.

Iliescu, like an old communist, still believes today that there has to be a third way somewhere between communism and democracy. But there is no such way: Democracy is the opposite of communism. But he did not renounce his associates and he did not take a clear ideological stand. In this way we ended up by breaking with each other during the days of the coup in Moscow. I and the government I was leading, made a statement containing a very tough condemnation of the coup perpetrators. Iliescu dissociated himself, and declared that he opposed this statement.

[IL GIORNALE] Consequently the FSN split, and Iliescu is blaming you for having strayed from the original program.

[Roman] The FSN needed badly clearing up politically, and I triggered this off. I radicalized the political dispute within the party, even though I was running a certain risk, as we were heading toward elections. But I assessed this risk as being far lower than the hazard—already existing at that time—of following a blurred political line. It seems to me that I was right. I strictly observed the party statute: The leaders of this party have decided on a certain political line and I continued to promote this line, which stipulates reforms and which we believe can make us the major democratic political party of the country. After mobilizing the miners last September, Iliescu—who, in his capacity as head of state, was supposed to rise above the parties—also organized several meetings, in which FSN senators and deputies were compelled to participate, with the purpose of convincing them that I ought to be expelled from the party.

[IL GIORNALE] Because of your "deviationism"?

[Roman] That is right. Shortly afterwards I was supposed to face the old accusation of being the enemy of the people. Can the leopard change its spots? But I finally won: The FSN carried out its election campaign by distancing itself from the head of state. I planned and led our election campaign. After having seen the results, I can say just that: "It is not bad at all" (Roman speaks very good Italian—note of the Italian paper).

[IL GIORNALE] Iliescu claims that you named yourself "President of the FSN".

[Roman] That is inaccurate! According to our party statute, whoever presents the party program, which is endorsed by the majority—and there had been such a program—automatically becomes president of the party. This is the way things happened in March 1991: The program I suggested was endorsed with over 90 percent of the votes. It was a secret ballot. This means that my inauguration is perfectly democratic and in accordance with the statute.

[IL GIORNALE] Which party in the West would you like FSN to resemble?

[Roman] FSN is a democratic party of reform and for reform. It opposes the restoration of the right, which means that it does not wish to reinstate the same social differences we had before the last war, nor does it want the restoration of the communist left.

I would like us to resemble the socialist parties in France and Portugal, because these have managed to reconcile a market economy with social reform. Of course, the ideal would be German social democracy, but circumstances in Romania are too far away from those in Germany.

Mayor Intends To Close Hungarian Schools in Cluj

AU1003133392 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 6 Mar 92 p 1

[Virgil Lazar item: "The Mayor of Cluj and the Hungarian Schools"]

[Text] In an interview given to Maria Gal, reporter of the Hungarian daily SZABADSAG [Freedom] published in Cluj, the newly elected mayor of Cluj Municipality, Mr. Gheorghe Funar—representative of the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR]—stated without hesitation that he will dissolve all Hungarian schools in town. Mr. Funar explained his intentions by saying: "The current legislation did not institute separatism based on ethnic principles. Such separatism was imposed by the policy of faits accomplis in early 1990." A bad omen for the future!

International

Government Urges Ratification of UN Agreement

LD1103210192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1935 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, March 11 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government today proposed to the Federal Parliament to speedily ratify an agreement signed between the Yugoslav Government and the United Nations on the status of the United Nations' protection force (UNPROFOR) for Yugoslavia. A statement released by the Yugoslav Government's information secretariat says that the Federal Government today coordinated a bill on the operation of the legal system in the part of Yugoslav territory under U.N. protection, on which the federal parliament should also speedily declare itself. The government has decided to put a number of military facilities at the disposal of UNPROFOR for a limited period, free of charge. The Yugoslav Government will give for the use of UNPROFOR for two months 43 passenger cars, 28 freight and all-terrain vehicles, 5 buses and 2 mini-buses.

For the accommodation of the UNPROFOR command centre, the Federal Government will give up a part of its [word indistinct] in Belgrade. In addition, federal organs will give other services to UNPROFOR to facilitate its work. The Federal Government has decided also to set aside 100 million dinars (one U.S. dollar fetches 141 dinars) from its budget reserves to finance the ensuing additional UNPROFOR-related duties of federal bodies.

Foreign Debt Hindered by Monetary Systems

LD1003122292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1128 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, March 10 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's foreign debt which reached 14 billion dollars late last year, currently is being paid off by four republics which have remained in a single monetary system, the Belgrade daily POLITIKA writes today.

Assistant General Director of the Treasury at the Yugoslav Finance Secretariat Nikola Jelic said that the breakaway republics of Slovenia and Croatia, by promoting their own currency, have excluded themselves from the money and crediting system of Yugoslavia.

Since the federation is the guarantor of the foreign debt, Jelic said that the World Bank has approached it in order to resolve the problem. The World Bank mission has visited Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana and some solutions have been found for the continued co-financing of projects.

Foreign capital, as Jelic underscored, is not interested in doing business on small republican markets so that by the establishment of peace, pressure will grow for setting up a single Yugoslav market. For this reason major projects for the construction of motorways, main trunk-railways, and power facilities will continue to be only Yugoslav. Jelic expects that a loan will very soon be approved for projects in the Republic of Serbia, which is an economically integrated area and a large market. Jelic announced that a new mission of the World Bank will arrive in Belgrade early April to examine scopes for approving a special loan for urgent needs of the country. These funds will be used to repair and construct city and village infrastructures in the most devastated areas.

Interrepublic

Slovene, Croatian Debts to JNA Assessed

92BA0583B Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 22 Feb 92 p 3

[Article by M. Protic: "One Trillion for Housing, Hospital..."]

[Text] The Army has presented its most recent demand in the divisions of assets and calculations about who owes whom how much after separation, desertion, or expulsion from an area. We are referring to almost 1 trillion dinars for which the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] is billing Slovenia and Croatia because of housing, resorts, hospitals, equipment, and certain other "noncombat" assets left behind.

The Army starts first with land and says that the JNA owns 542 tracts of land amounting to 4,852 hectares and worth 727.6 million dinars. On that land, there are 2,121 military structures with accompanying infrastructure, roads, hardened surfaces, electromechanical installations, water supply, and sewer systems. In those structures, there were 18 garrison outpatient clinics, two military medical centers, and one military hospital. During the evacuation, the equipment of the outpatient clinics was taken, but the equipment of the military medical centers and military hospitals was withheld.

The value of the equipment not evacuated from the military center for rehabilitation and treatment in Ramske Toplice and the Ljubljana Military Medical Center and the hospital in that city is estimated at 3.4 billion dinars.

The "Sloboda" Military Resort on Bled, with 265 beds and equipment valued at 14 million dinars, was also left behind in the sovereign republic. The JNA is also billing Slovenia for the housing stock consisting of 8,121 units, nine office buildings, and 1,087 garages. The total amount is 30.8 billion dinars.

In Croatia, the JNA says that it owns land in 1,029 military complexes, amounting to 56,960 hectares, with a value of 8.5 billion dinars. On those tracts of land, there are 7,122 structures, roads, airfield runways, hardened surfaces, gas pipelines, electrical installations, and other assets. In Croatia, there were also 27 garrison outpatient clinics left behind and centers and hospitals

in Zadar, Zagreb, Pula, and Split. The JNA is seeking 71.8 billion dinars for equipment left behind.

Resorts at Fazana, Kupari, Crikvenica, Trogir, Duklovo, Baska Polje and Baska Voda, Krvavnice, Orebic... are also on the list of the military claims.

For housing, office space, garages, and so on, the JNA is seeking 144.5 billion dinars from Croatia, stating that it owns 17,951 housing units there.

All of this was presented in an official letter of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense to the SFRY Assembly, and the total amounts of the claims were rounded off in last year's prices, and it was announced that the Republic of Slovenia would be billed 136.3 billion dinars and the Republic of Croatia 912.8 billion dinars in current prices.

Against these calculations there are also demands for war damages which are coming from Croatia, but they have not reached a single body of the federal government, because they do not recognize it.

Mention is also made of the possibility of calling for international judgment and collection of damages. All of this has only been suggested for the present, but it is possible that the general calculations of the division of assets would include a "clearing" of losses, including the military equipment withheld, the houses of both Croatian and Serbian inhabitants that were burned, destroyed, or taken over in the undeclared war that came and went.

Federal

Presidency on EC, U.S. Recognition

LD1103180992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1635 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency attaches importance to "the declaration of the ministers of the European Community and the United States on the recognition of the Yugoslav Republics" adopted at a conference of ministers of the European Community and the United States in Brussels last night, according to which the peaceful solution of the Yugoslav crisis is the only way out, a statement from today's session of the SFRY Presidency says. The session, which was presided over by Branko Kostic, was also attended by SFRY Assembly President Slobodan Gligorijevic; Bogdana Glumac-Levakov, president of the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber; FEC Vice President Aleksandar Mitrovic; Petar Gracanin, federal secretary for internal affairs; Colonel General Blagoje Adzic, acting federal secretary for national defense; and Milivoje Maksic, acting federal secretary for foreign affairs.

The statement further says:

"In accordance with customary practice, departmental federal officials briefed the SFRY Presidency on the current political and security situation in the country and on certain issues regarding the international dimension of the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis. The SFRY Presidency acknowledged last night's 'declaration of the ministers of the European Community and the United States regarding recognition of the Yugoslav republics.' The SFRY Presidency attaches importance to positions from the declaration in which the peaceful solution of the Yugoslav crisis, including a political solution in Bosnia-Hercegovina based on an agreement between the three nations, is considered as the exclusive way. That will be facilitated by the deployment of UN peacekeeping forces and the continuation of the Conference on Yugoslavia.

"At its session today, the SFRY Presidency examined and, following a discussion and certain additions, endorsed conclusions and positions of the Federal Council for the Protection of Constitutional Order on the security situation in the country, which also put forward proposed measures and activities.

"It was assessed that the security situation in the country continues to be very serious, especially in Bosnia-Hercegovina, where the creation and strengthening of paramilitary forces is increasingly complicating the complex political and security situation. It was stated that despite the frequent attempts by Croatian armed formations to maintain tension at the front through provocations, the cease-fire is essentially holding and that the arrival of UN peacekeeping forces is creating more favorable conditions for a peaceful political resolution of the Yugoslav crisis. Note was made in particular of the fact that in areas under the control of the Croatian authorities, especially in towns, various forms of pressure on citizens of the Serbian nationality—from dismissals from their jobs and the planting of explosives in their homes to individual cases of their liquidation—have been stepped up. It was also stated that the Yugoslav Peoples' Army [JNA] and the territorial defense are guarding the present front in an organized way and at the same time are making the necessary preparations for the arrival of UN peacekeeping forces.

"The SFRY Presidency concluded that a plan and program for the organized return of refugees to the Republic of Serbian Krajina be adopted as a matter of urgency, something which is a condition for the more lasting stabilization of circumstances in these areas.

"The SFRY Presidency also considered and accepted a report by Dr. Borisav Jovic, a member of the SFRY Presidency and chairman of the State Council for Cooperation with UN Representatives, on his visit to and talks at the UN.

"The SFRY Presidency also examined a report on the status of the Serbian population in Gorski Kotar, Croatia. With regard to the numerous crimes of genocide committed in the border area between Gorski Kotar and

Lika—for which there are concrete facts and proof—the SFRY Presidency decided, among other things, to inform appropriate international institutions. [passage omitted]

"In light of the fact that pensions have not been paid to a large number of pensioners for a long time now, for whom a pension is the only source of income, pensioners' material and social security has been threatened. The SFRY Presidency therefore stressed at its session today that pensions must be paid regularly."[passage omitted]

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Serbs Discuss Brussels Document

AU1103205892 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Report by Zoran Babic and Envera Selimovic in Sarajevo]

[Text] The 10th session of the Assembly of the Serbian People of Bosnia-Hercegovina is under way in Sarajevo. The assembly has only one point on the agenda: a report on the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina and the stands of the Serbian representatives on the document offered in Brussels on the future organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Zoran Babic and Envera Selimovic report:

[Babic] At the very beginning of the session, Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party and head of the delegation of the Serbian national community at the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina in Brussels, briefed the deputies on what has been achieved in the last three rounds of talks. In these talks, Karadzic said, we argued against the right to secede from Yugoslavia and expressed the right of the Serbian people to remain in Yugoslavia, in accordance with the political will that was clearly expressed in the plebiscite of the Serbian people. (?We could have) stopped the secession of Bosnia-Hercegovina on the basis of the results of the plebiscite. We have never intended to split Bosnia-Hercegovina, to annex it to Serbia, or similar such things. However, we have been against the disintegration of Yugoslavia.

According to Karadzic, Alija Izetbegovic did more for the disintegration of Bosnia-Hercegovina with his triumphant conduct after the referendum, with the help of the media, than the entire activities of the Serbian Democratic Party. At the talks in Brussels we opted for a compromise. We thought that if the Muslims and Croats did not want to stay in Yugoslavia then the entire Bosnia could change its position in relation to Yugoslavia without the Serbian people finding themselves in the unitarian Bosnia- Hercegovina, Karadzic said, and added:

[Begin Karadzic recording] After the first round of talks we were offered a document in Brussels, which you have in front of you. This document envisages Bosnia-Hercegovina to be a federation, a federal state, made up of constituent units. In the talks they accepted that, taking into account the economic, geographic, and other criteria, the three constituent units are founded on the nationality criterion.

Mr. Izetbegovic is also making a maneuver. He is avoiding saying that there are three constituent units, as it was originally written, three constituent states, that could have several separate parts, as we agreed. He is therefore trying to make us accept this concept, but afterward he would press for not three, but 15 units, which would be communes. We will not accept this. We will not accept such a vague and ambiguous document that could be interpreted in different ways. We have considerable experience with Mr. Izetbegovic's interpretations.

It must be stated that there are three constituent states founded on the nationality principles, taking into account other criteria. However, in the view of the EC, Bosnia-Hercegovina would be a federal state with too many central functions, which clearly shows that someone is concerned with attaining central authority in Bosnia-Hercegovina, very strong central authority, and to dominate others. [end recording]

[Babic] According to Karadzic, the main objections to the document that was offered in Brussels are that the central authorities would have too much power and that Bosnia-Hercegovina is defined as an independent state, which is unacceptable to the Serbian people. We accept Bosnia-Hercegovina as a whole, but under the condition that we do not lose our sovereignty and the right to links with other republics, Radovan Karadzic said.

Another member of the delegation of the Serbian national community in Brussels, Nikola Koljevic, spoke more about what, in his view, was good in the document that was offered. Koljevic primarily mentioned the fact that the document no longer talks about the presidency of the republic, the decentralization of the police, and the question of tribunals, which placed Bosnia-Hercegovina under foreign guardianship.

Momcilo Krajisnik, who was also a member of the delegation, said that the concept advocated by the delegation in Brussels was correct and warned the deputies, in addition to the interests of the two partners in the conference in Brussels, to also bear in mind the interests of Europe in the discussion.

[Selimovic] Fourteen deputies asked to speak. Among them was Slobodan Bijelic, who said: We are witnessing the birth of a Muslim bastard on the territory of the land of our grandfathers. Therefore, we should immediately start work on establishing sovereignty on the territory that belongs to us. I do not think that Bosnia-Hercegovina should be broken up, but I hold the view that Bosnia should be made confederal, Slobodan Bijelic said.

Milovan Milanovic said that there is no reason to think that Serbs are not one of the most peace-loving nations in Europe. We have always protected peace. Therefore, I do not accept the concept that was offered by Europe. We will either have a confederal state or a state of the Serbian people where we chose to live, Milanovic concluded.

Milan Novakovic said that the Brussels document is unacceptable and proposed that after the assembly session a proclamation be issued to the Serbian people and that a special letter about the position of the Serbian people be sent to the victors of World War II, and Russia and Greece as Orthodox countries.

Aleksa Buha also assessed the Brussels document negatively. He reproached Europe for not granting the Serbs the right to self- determination and the right to a Serbian state. Bosnia-Hercegovina, Aleksa Buha said, can only be a union of independent national states.

Nikola Perisic was in favor of all constituent units in Bosnia- Hercegovina having their own constitution, that is to say, all the prerogatives of a state. Using as an example the fact the Croats have already done this, Perisic also said the following: We must take our territories. We have been relying on the Army. We have established this here in the assembly, too, but it is clear that we cannot rely on the Army. The neutrality of the Army is a betrayal, Perisic said. The Army must let the Serbian people know that it will protect them. The Army must take heavy arms out of the barracks, Perisic said and proposed that talks be held with the Army immediately, because as he said, the majority of people rely on the weapons in the barracks, but these weapons are far away.

Biljana Plavsic insisted on a union of states. We must strive for the demarcation of the territories in the republic, because, Biljana Plavsic said, the NDH [independent state of Croatia] is functioning in some parts of it. Speaking about the Croats, she said that she saw how they can make the NDH function. Biljana Plavsic asked: Are we less able?

Savo Knezevic, Jovan Cizmovic, and Goran Zekic also spoke in favor of the confederal concept. The session is still going on.

Serbian Leader Demands Confederal State

LD1103174292 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Report by correspondent Slavko Rako in Sarajevo]

[Excerpt] Following a closed meeting of the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] club of deputies in the Bosnia-Hercegovina assembly, a session of the assembly of the so-called Republic of the Serbian People in Bosnia-Hercegovina started in Sarajevo this afternoon. A report on the Brussels talks and the adoption of positions proposed by the EC is on the agenda.

The introductory report was read by Radovan Karadzic, the delegation leader and SDS chairman.

His report, rather confused and containing a variety of undertones, began by leveling accusations against Alija Izetbegovic and his constant shifting of positions and growing chauvinist conduct abetted by the media here in the wake of the referendum, which according to Radovan Karadzic, awakened aggressive fundamentalism. He also said that the talks had to continue or a terrible civil war and the formation of three republics within Bosnia-Hercegovina would ensue. These republics already exist, only border areas have to be defined.

The Serbian people have accepted a compromise recognizing the integrity of Bosnia-Hercegovina's outside borders, but will never give up the formation of three national republics within Bosnia-Hercegovina, Karadzic said.

Analyzing the documents from Brussels, he rejected the article referring to several component units, insisting on three [such units] and a Citizens' Chamber in the Bosnia-Hercegovina assembly, because the assembly will be constituted on national units' level. He also rejected a common currency, joint police, and a centralized economy.

Bosnia-Hercegovina must be a confederal state, Karadzic said in conclusion. He asked the deputies to discuss the document, adding that they should either accept it or propose concrete changes. [passage omitted]

Neretva River Serbs Join SAO Hercegovina

LD1203101492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1505 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Text] Trebinje, March 11 (TANJUG)—The parliament of the Serb Autonomous Region (SAO) of Hercegovina decided Tuesday evening that all territories in the valley of the Neretva River (southern part of the multinational Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina) which are populated by Serbs are part of SAO Hercegovina.

The decision was made at the demand of deputies that the borders of SAO Hercegovina be politically and territorially defined.

The president of the Serbian Democratic Party of Mostar, Branko Simic, strongly criticized the government and parliament of SAO Hercegovina blaming them for their passive attitude towards the destiny of the 44,000 Serbs inhabiting the Neretva Valley. According to Simic, in this part of Hercegovina, mainly populated by Croats, the Serbs have been left to themselves, without any help and support in a region which is neither politically or territorially defined.

He also said that in these region the Serbs have been forced to organize themselves and set up night patrols in reaction to the appearence of an increasing number of Croatian para-military forces. The predominantly Croat

Eastern Hercegovina has for some time been the republic's hot spot due to the almost daily armed provocations and numerous explosions in various facilities mainly owned by Serbs. The Croats in Capljina demanded the transfer of Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) units from this town in which an army barracks has been under blockade over a week. In Eastern and Western Hercegovina also evident are armed para-military formations of the right-wing Croatian Party of Rights, thus disturbing the Serb and Moslem populations in this part of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Territory Defined

LD1203053992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1202 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Text] Trebinje, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—All the territories in the River Neretva Valley populated by Serbs are an integral part of the Hercegovina Serbian Autonomous Region [SAO Hercegovina]. This was decided during this region's assembly session which ended last night. The decision was made following the demand by deputies who asked that SAO Hercegovina should define its borders both politically and territorially.

During the session Branko Simic, the Serbian Democratic Party chairman in Mostar, vehemently criticized the SAO Hercegovina government and assembly for their inert attitude, as he put it, toward the destinies of 44,000 Serbs living in the Neretva River Valley. According to him they have been left in limbo, defined neither politically nor territorially, and left to themselves, without any assistance or suppor. Because of the growing membership of Croatian paramilitary formations in these areas, they are forced to organize themselves and to conduct night watches.

SDA Leader Comments on Muslim 'Green Berets'

LD1203060792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1241 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—Irfan Ajanovic, member of the main committee of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] said during his news conference in this party's offices today that the Muslim armed formations, the so-called "Green Berets" [zelene beretke], are not paramilitary formations. He insisted that they are the Muslim people's reaction to Serbian Chetnik formations and Croatian defense forces units.

Ajanovic claims that it is not the SDA which has formed "the green berets," nor does it arm them. He reinforced this claim by coming out with a story that he had spoken to a "green beret" member who told him that "this name means that everyone has bought the weapons privately."

Ajanovic skillfully avoided providing an answer to journalists' question on what the SDA will do to remove "the green berets" who in public have already been described as paramilitary formations.

During his news conference today he again came up with the claim that, as he put it, Chetnik paramilitary formations do exist in Bosnia. He said that he knows where they are stationed, but when asked by journalists to divulge this he said that "this should be done by the Serbian Democratic Party."

Further on Army

LD1203094692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1734 GMT 11 Mar 92

[By Vesna Prlja-Jovanovic]

[Text] Sarajevo, March 11 (TANJUG)—The Democratic Action Party (SDA) which rallies Moslems in Bosnia-Hercegovina (BIH) has created its army and so far armed some 30,000 men, the leadership of the Serbian Autonomous Region (SAO) Romania, one of the regions in the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina with a majority Serb population, announced today.

Militant SDA members received arms via the breakaway Republics of Slovenia and Croatia and "funds from Iran and Libya", the leadership of SAO Romania said and added that in question mainly are snipers, light infantry arms, mines and explosives.

The newly-formed Moslem divisions in BIH carry names like "Kemal-Pasha Ataturk," the "Moslem Guard", "the Handzar Division"—all quite appropriate as they were set up with the aim of creating an "Islamic State" in Europe.

At a news conference held today, Irfan Ajanovic, a member of the SDA central committee, did not deny that in BIH there are armed Moslem formations—the "green berets"—but pointed out that they are not "paramilitary troops, but rather the Moslem people's reply to similar Serbian and Croatian formations."

However, the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) in BIH today denied claims on the existence of Serbian paramilitary formations in this central Yugoslav republic. "They are insolently passing over the fact known by all Serbs, Moslems and Croats—That Bosnia-Hercegovina is brimming with the members of the Croatian defence forces (HOS—Military Wing of the pro-Ustashi Croatian Party of Rights, led by Bobrosav Paraga from the neighbouring breakaway Yugoslav Republic of Croatia), "green berets" and similar paramilitary formations," the SDS stressed. This party which rallies Serbs in BIH said that Moslem and Croat paramilitary formations are present in all communities of the republic in which the Serbs are in the minority and that "their vandalism stirs up incidents," "while it is well-known that Croatian rule has been established in Western Hercegovina."

Bosnia-Hercegovina has 43.77 per cent Moslems, 31.46 per cent Serbs and 17.34 per cent Croats and in power is a coalition made up of three nationalist parties (SDA, SDS and HDZ). Bosnia-Hercegovina is one of the four

Yugoslav republics which has submitted for international recognition from the European Community (E.C.) but has been recognized only by Iran, Bulgaria and Turkey. An E.C.-sponsored conference on the future organization of the republic is under way.

Without obtaining approval from the Serbs, the Moslem-croatian coalition has requested the recognition of the republic's independence—which is in contradiction with the BIH Constitution. The Serbian representatives demand an agreement between the three constitutive peoples on the future of BIH, as requested by the republican Constitution. In Western Hercegovina, part of BIH bordering with the breakaway Republic of Croatia and which has a majority Croat population, the Croats have already created paramilitary units. The Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) officially announced that the Croatian pro-fascist paramilitary formations in Western Hercegovina also include "some 16,000 people armed with anti-aircraft missiles."

"There are some 100,000 Moslems in various combat formations in Bosnia-Hercegovina," the Belgrade daily POLITIKA EKSPRES said yesterday and warned that "a number of mercenary groups from Morocco, Syria and Turkey recently arrived in Bosnia-Hercegovina." SDS points out that the legal authorities of BIH are doing nothing to prevent the creation of such groups and "thus halt the scare-mongering of innocent people." It recalls that "competent government bodies should ensure the safety of all nations and citizens and protect their property."

"If they are unable to do that, they should be aware that the Serbs will be forced to organize and defend themselves," SDS concluded.

Divisions Listed

LD1103152692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1132 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—The Romania Serbian Autonomous Region information service announced today that the Democratic Action Party "has formed its own army, on the pattern of the Croatian Democratic Community and the Croatian Party of Rights."

So far 30,000 of its members have been armed, mostly with sniper rifles, light infantry weapons, and mine-explosive devices, says the statement, which adds that the supply route is "through Slovenia and Croatia and the financing provided by Iran and Libya."

The statement also lists the newly formed divisions: the Handzar division in Bjeljina, the Husinje Division in Cazin, the Smail-Aga Cengic Division in Sarajevo, the Kemal-Pasa Ataturk Division in Brezovo Polje near Brcko, the Red Fes Division in Bosanski Novi, the Muslim Guard Division in Zvornik, and the Drina Division in Bratunac. It goes on to add that other units have been formed in central Bosnia.

Banja Luka Muslims Protest Rights Violations

AU1203090792 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Text] The Muslim people in Banja Luka have been forced to organize themselves to defend their lives because in the last few months they have faced increasingly serious violation of basic civil rights by the Serbian Democratic Party. This is said in a statement that is signed by the Party of Democratic Action of Banja Luka, the Muslim Youth Organization, the Forum of Muslim Intellectuals, the Preporod Cultural Society of Muslims, the Merhamet Charitable Society of Muslims, and the Islamic Community.

The statement cites that the patience of the Muslims has been brought to breaking point and they will organize extraordinary and early elections in Banja Luka and the Bosnian Krajina if the militant usurpers of power insist on the ethnic cantonization and division of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Presidency Proposes JNA Return Arms

AU1103205192 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Text] The Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency today examined the current security situation and the issue of faster economic development of our republics.

Examining the demands by several communes and companies, the Presidency concluded it is inevitable to start the talks with the competent organs of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army [JNA] on the return of seized arms and ammunition to the Headquarters of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Territorial Defense.

With an aim of creating favorable conditions for a faster socio-economic development of the republics, it was proposed to the Bosnia-Hercegovina Government that it examine an integral program of economic development and measures for revitalization and transformation of all economic entities. The need to intensify economic cooperation with economically profitable entities, other republics, and foreign countries was emphasized.

Sarajevo Radio, TV Journalists End Strike

AU1103150192 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Text] After a one-day warning strike by the employees of the Radio and Television of Sarajevo, this organization started broadcasting programs this morning. The strike committee has not announced yet whether the government has agreed to meet the demands. The Workers Council yesterday adopted the resignation by the management of the Radio and Television of Sarajevo and advertised vacancies in the top management positions.

Paraga Predicts Armed Conflict in Bosnia

92BA0608B Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 2 Mar 92 p 28, 29, 30

[Interview with Dobrosav Paraga, president of the Croatian Rights Party, by Zoran Kusovac; place and date not given: "War Is in the Air"—first paragraph is VREME introduction]

[Text] Probably the most controversial personality on the Croatian political scene, the president of the Croatian Rights Party, Dobrosav Paraga, talks to VREME. We began our conversation with a question about his views toward the arrival of the "blue helmets."

The arrival of the "blue helmets" in Croatia is a necessary evil for us. We will not welcome their arrival, but we will not do battle with these units either. We believe that the realization of Vance's plan would not be either the sanctioning or extension of the occupation of parts of Croatia, but that we can expect the Cyprus syndrome, that it will drag on forever. We would like to say, "Go home," before they come. I've had bad experience with western diplomacy and policy when Croatian national interests are in question. This whole situation is a product of that Western diplomacy and policy, which has not respected what is whose, because "one people, one nation" has been observed, neglecting the fact that there have always been a number of people who have aspired to their own nations. And the first Yugoslavia was created externally—fabricated in Versailles; the same thing happened with the second one, and it would be a great evil to allow the West one more experiment in creating a third defective Yugoslavia.

[Kusovac] Both Serbs and Croats now want to live separately. How is it possible to delineate borders that would satisfy both sides?

[Paraga] Respect for the facts and the inheritance with which Croatia and Serbia entered into marriage is key. Whatever one brought into the marriage, let him take from the divorce lawsuit. Serbia should renounce any appetite for territories on which it never ruled. Up to 1918 the Kingdom of Serbs did not have a foot of territory from the Zemun bridge on this side. In order for this conflict to be resolved, they should withdraw to their borders. The year 1912 seems to us to be best for that, before the annexation of those territories began under the Karadjordjevic dynasty; this was also disastrous for Serbia, because it has not had a democratic regime any more since it entered into that expansion. It has had a dictatorship, because it would not have been able to rule otherwise over Serbia or the non-Serbian parts of that expanded Serbia that was later called Yugoslavia.

[Kusovac] Therefore, you support the historical principle?

[Paraga] And the ethnic principle. Serbs outside Serbia are a large minority. From the Sutla up to the Drina, including Sandzak, only one-fifth of the Serbs live. One-fifth cannot impose a right on four-fifths. That territory is a compact whole for us, although it is divided into two republics.

[Kusovac] Nevertheless, today there is also the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, in which Muslims live as one of the peoples. They have created their nation in the meantime, but they now deny them or proclaim them Serbs or Croats of the Islamic faith. How do you reconcile your approach with their ethnic right to self-determination?

[Paraga] It has really not been permitted them up to now to declare themselves nationally, but only religiously. I believe that the day will soon come when the Muslims will be able to declare themselves nationally, and not just religiously. That is a category created under Communist repression, but as such can survive; as a party, we do not prohibit anyone from declaring himself that way. But, I am certain that the majority of them do not feel themselves to be Serbs; therefore, I claim that four-fifths of the population in that area are not for a Serbian state.

[Kusovac] How will you, as a party, act if the unity and indivisibility of Bosnia are confirmed at the coming referendum, despite the demand of a number of Croats in that republic to join Croatia?

[Paraga] The referendum for a united Bosnia and Hercegovina is in opposition to Tudjman and Milosevic, who are for partition, but that is only the first step to a second referendum. The final referendum is for us, really, an answer to the question "Are you for joining Croatia?" We believe that Belgrade will never respect the sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina; it is now showing this through the occupation, partition, and the blockade with the help of the Serbian army.

[Kusovac] But would you agree with holding a referendum on attaching Bosnia-Hercegovina to Serbia?

[Paraga] Certainly, if the majority of the population decide it. If we were certain that Belgrade would respect the independence of Bosnia if it declares itself, maybe we wouldn't seek a second referendum. But, since we are certain that it wouldn't, we are seeking that a referendum be held on uniting Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina. Both Bosnia and present Croatia are difficult to defend against the current aggression. Croatia is frayed simply because it lacks the strategic area of Bosnia-Hercegovina for defense. If it were one state, the Serbian army would not be able to do this now.

[Kusovac] In the part of Hercegovina where Croats live densely, the idea of joining Croatia is strong, but you claim that you are for a united Bosnia. If the referendum confirms a united Bosnia, will you succeed in preventing aspirations for uniting part of Hercegovina with Croatia?

[Paraga] We can only support the union of all of Bosnia-Hercegovina, not only western Hercegovina where a small number of Croats live. That would mean that we are satisfied with one-tenth, and conceding to Serbia

nine-tenths of what we consider a natural and historical Croatian area. It would be catastrophic to surrender the so-called Krajinas, at the expense of western Hercegovina, and with the agreement of Zagreb. That is trade in a territory that is the property of millions of people that live on it. That would be the undermining of the entire Croatian national program and the sale of Croatian territory. That would be the worst possible solution.

[Kusovac] Do you believe in a peaceful solution of the political and national crisis in Bosnia?

[Paraga] I am already surprised that sharper clashes have not broken out, that the war is not at least equally cruel as in Croatia. My fighters would not want this to turn into war. But, if this possibility materializes, if will be dangerous for both sides at least to the extent as in Vukovar, and there's no doubt that it would be still worse. People are highly motivated to fight and will not hear of remaining either in Yugoslavia or separate from Croatia. I am personally against a war solution, but based on recent events war is in the air and almost unavoidable. There is too much army and there are too many weapons and conflicting interests for a peaceful exit to be possible. Even if Zagreb and Belgrade don't want war, one would be caused by the fact that this area is going to be torn up. Those who are the victims of that breakup will cause it.

[Kusovac] There are about 15,000 members of HOS [the Croatian Defense Force] or more under arms in western Hercegovina. Whom would they defend in the case of war? Croats in western Hercegovina, or all Croats in Bosnia?

[Paraga] A large number of people are organizing themselves to defend national interests. Excepting for the one that is today called an SAO [Federal Autonomous Region], all are organizing themselves to defend against an attack from the east. Three-quarters of Bosnia-Hercegovina is organizing itself against an attack from Belgrade. Bosnia does not have its own army, because no one perceives the Yugoslav army as different from the Serbian army. There is massive organization of defenses all over Bosnia and thousands of men are joining HOS units, which have become a substitute for the army of Bosnia-Hercegovina. This conflict can be expected; based on everything, I see that we will have to clash.

[Kusovac] Do you see the end of this clash?

[Paraga] It will come to the exhaustion and dying of both sides, and that which could have been done in a peaceful manner will occur after this clash. And that is that the Serbian people will realize that they have their nation of Serbia and that they cannot rule outside that nation. There has never been a Serbian nation on Croatian territory; let's say there was one somehow, but there wasn't. The solution is that everyone has his national state and does not expand his borders through force. I support a Croatia with Sandzak, but I am not for our helping ourselves by force. But, if they come at us with force, we are forced not only to defend ourselves against aggression but to return to the borders that were taken from us during the forcible union in 1918. When I speak about Zemun, that can be an illusion only for those that do not know the history and events in this clime, and that can be a reality tomorrow, for sure. How will the Serbs fight with us in Bosnia when there are 2 million members of a non-Serbian people all over Kosovo who feel themselves oppressed? They don't need another motive than their own present position to explode, and to begin to protect themselves with the assistance of the Albanian nation. Therefore, it is not realistic to have pretensions to these areas. Belgrade has more and more of its own problems and will be increasingly less able to concern itself with the Vojvodina Serbs; this is seen in the way they betrayed Babic.

[Kusovac] You mentioned Zemun as a part of Croatia. But it is now part of Belgrade, the principal city of Serbia, the inhabitants of that side of the Sava are mostly Serbs. Do you think that it is realistic to expect that one-third of the principal city of Serbia should be in Croatia?

[Paraga] That is neither unrealistic nor impossible. Just as there is aggression by attackers, there is also defensive aggression. When the cat forces the mouse into the corner, it jumps right into his eyes. Thus it could happen to the perpetrator of this war that the war will end on his territory. This would mean not only the return of Vukovar but also Srem and Zemun. We had the Croatian flag there 74 years ago, when the Kingdom of the Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs existed. That border was there in this century, so it's not out of the question that it will also return in this century. Not because we're waging an aggressive war, but because they, who held non-Serbian people in subjugation for 74 years, have now wanted to hold them through armed force, so it can happen to them that they'll lose what they call the Republic of Serbia today. Not only that there won't be any more Yugoslavia, but there won't be a Republic of Serbia as it is today either.

[Kusovac] Your party, especially its armed wing, cherishes symbols of the Ustashi regime, you identify with the Ustashi, enemies of the Serbian people. Nevertheless, you recently requested that Croatia clear up crimes against Serbs in Gospic and elsewhere. What are your views toward Serbs in Croatia and further coexistence?

[Paraga] The HSP [Croatian Rights Party] does not identify with the Ustashi movement, nor do we consider ourselves its successors. Men are putting on the letter U on their own initiative, because their people also wore that letter in the past. They view it as a symbol of the resistance of Croatian fighters, rebels, or, as an abbreviation, Ustashi who are defending Croatian territory. The Ustashi movement is consciously ascribed to us by the government in Zagreb, in order to be able to discredit us to the maximum abroad. They also describe us as collaborators with KOS [the Counterintelligence Service] and the Yugoslav army. Precisely because of this erroneous view, there is surprise when we raise the

question of human rights. I have actively fought for democracy and the rights of man for more than a decade and I'm doing the same thing now too. This is a surprise for newly constituted Croats who were Yugoslavs and Communists up to yesterday, and now it does not occur to them that someone who was constantly anti-Yugoslav and anti-Communist can raise his voice and defend the principal rights of man, whether Serbs, Croats, or, let's say, gypsies. On behalf of the Croatian people, I would like to see them rid themselves of Franjo Tudjman and his political clique which wants, by gesturing with Croatian sovereignty on paper, to cover up the tragic picture of democracy in Croatia. The situation has not changed for the better in Serbia either, and the Communists hold the levers of power there. Until the regime in Belgrade and Zagreb is changed, there will be no changes for the better.

[Kusovac] Nationalism and anti-Communism have distinguished you since the beginning of your political involvement. Which of those two orientations is more important to you?

[Paraga] Both anti-Communism and nationalism are on the side of that which is good and that which is leading the world to something better. We are seeing ourselves what Communism and unitarism have done. Everything starts with the individual rights of man; thus these great theories were on shaky legs, and thus they failed.

Croatia

Tudjman Receives UN Forces Commander

LD1203072592 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Text] Today in Villa Zagorje in Zagreb Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and his associates received Indian General Satish Nambiar, commander of the UN peacekeeping forces in Croatia, accompanied by other UN officers. Representatives of the peacekeeping forces and the Croatian authorities had talks on the rhythm of deployment, transport and supplying of the forces, and other forms of cooperation in the implementation of the peacekeeping operation.

President Tudjman stressed that the first task of the peacekeeping operation should be the reintroduction of air, land, and sea transport, which would facilitate easier deployment of the peacekeeping forces and the withdrawal of the Yugoslav People's Army from the whole territory of the Republic of Croatia. Croatia offered help in the transport of troops, their accommodation, and regular supply with gasoline and food.

Orders Full Cooperation

LD1103141492 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Text] In accordance with the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia, President Franjo Tudjman today issued the following order concerning cooperation with the UN peace forces:

In my capacity as president of the republic and supreme commander of its Armed Forces, I instruct all units of the Croatian Army and the Internal Affairs Ministry to fully cooperate with and respect the need for the safety of the representatives and units of the UN peace forces and to observe an earlier order which provides for an absolute cease-fire. I call on local authorities representatives in the Republic of Croatia to develop full cooperation with the representatives and units of the UN peace forces in implementing the UN peace plan on the territory of the Republic of Croatia and to observe the Croatian Government's special instructions.

Cease-Fire Discussed

LD1103223992 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Text] The first meeting between representatives of the Republic of Croatia and the Command of the UN forces was held at the Croatian Defense Ministry today. The Croatian delegation was headed by Milan Ramljak and his assistants, and Corps General Antun Tus, chief of general staff of the Republic of Croatia, together with his assistants. The UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] was headed by Indian General Satish Nambiar.

Chief of General Staff Corps General Antun Tus addressed those present on behalf of the Croatian defense minister and thanked the UNPROFOR commanders for the efforts they are investing to stop the war in Croatia. At the same time, he recalled that it was the Republic of Croatia which first called for the intervention of UN forces. He also thanked the EC for its efforts to preserve the current 15-day cease-fire and stressed that the Croatian Army sustained a large number of dead and wounded soldiers even during this cease-fire. He also stressed that Zadar, Sibenik, Osijek, Karlovac, Vinkovci, and many other Croatian towns and villages are exposed daily to enemy fire.

General Satish Nambiar said that officers with various specializations are coming to Croatia from several countries and that the first to be engaged are mine clearing experts from UN units. In conclusion, he stressed that the meeting was informal and that the negotiations about specific actions will take place at their next meeting, which will take place tomorrow. After the meeting, the guests, escorted by their hosts, visited the Zagreb airport of Pleso, the military airport, and the Pleso military barracks.

Croatian Interpretation of UN Tasks Considered

92BA0583E Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Feb 92 p 19

[Article by R. Arsenic: "They Sign One Thing, They Say Something Else"]

[Text] Zagreb, 24 Feb—Although it is mainly clear under what conditions and with what tasks the UN peacekeeping forces are coming to the "crisis areas" of Croatia, representatives of the Croatian government are continuing their interpretation of the entire action. It does not matter that Tudjman has signed an unconditional consent to the coming of the "blue helmets," his collaborators are continuing to say that Croatian authority will be in effect during the stay of the peacekeeping forces in areas with a Serbian majority.

This, we recall, was in fact announced by the Croatian government the evening before the German vice chancellor arrived. And not only that—the Croatian government says that in the regions under UN protection "the laws and institutions of the Republic of Croatia will be valid, that is, administrative, judicial, police, and monetary authority will be exercised in keeping with the regulations of the Republic of Croatia and the peace plan of the United Nations."

What About Martic

One particularly sensitive question in all this is how the police will operate in those areas, and that is why probably it is a rare day that passes without one of the official representatives of the Croatian government making a public statement on this. Whereas the document of the Security Council (which was signed "unconditionally" by Tudjman) clearly states that the peacekeeping forces will not alter the status quo and that in the areas under their protection the local authorities will operate, and therefore the police as well, Ivan Vekic, Croatian minister of internal affairs, says something quite different:

"The main tasks of the Croatian police will be protection of ethnic minorities in the areas under UN protection and also performance of conventional police tasks, protection of peace and order. I would not like to sound too ambitious, but the police are ready the very next day to join the peacekeeping forces in all matters with which we will have to deal together—all the way to disarmament and collection of concealed weapons."

Thus, the top man in the Croatian police believes that he and his people will go into the areas with a Serbian majority and disarm the population, according to their own criteria and interpretations, of course.

And as for the makeup of the local police, the Croatian Supreme Command persistently says that they must not include anyone who "raised a weapon against Croatia." Vekic mentions in this connection: "According to the law, persons with a criminal past cannot work in the police. That is at the same time an answer to you concerning Martic."

A Transparent Game

So as to be as "certain" as possible in this respect, the Croatian police—as Vekic confirmed the night before last over Croatian TV—has already made a list of several thousand members of the Serbian police of Krajina who thus by a stroke of the pen have been proclaimed "war criminals and rebels," and the hope is that they will in this way be eliminated from taking part in the police of the present Krajina. That game is, of course, utterly transparent, but it is also quite clear that it has nothing whatsoever to do with the provision concerning the status quo in those areas, because in that respect things can change only through negotiations and an agreement between the two parties. Incidentally, the identical approach might also be taken and that "rule" applied to any Croat who "took up a weapon against the Serbs."

If someone cannot accept the Serbian people in Croatia as an equal party to discussion—and essentially that is what it is all about—that is nevertheless his problem, and the role of the peacekeeping forces is precisely to preclude physical force in the reaching of a final agreement concerning life in this region.

Firm Signs Oil, Gas Deal With Libya

LD1203073992 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Text] The Zagreb-based firm INA-INTKO has struck another valuable deal in Libya. The firm has signed an agreement to maintain four oil and gas fields. The deal is worth over $3 million. The work on maintaining the oil facilities is expected to start at the beginning of April and last for one year. Four teams of about 70 experts from several enterprises within INA-INTKO will be involved in the project.

Macedonia

Republic Guards Placed on Bulgarian Border

LD1103212192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1438 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Text] Skopje, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—The formal hand-over of watch towers in the border sector of the Kriva Palanka garrison and the replacement of border guards was carried out at noon today, the Macedonian Defense Ministry has reported. Members of the Yugoslav People's Army were replaced by members of the Macedonian Territorial Defense.

The ministry gave precise details on the hand-over of facilities in the border sector of the Kriva Palanka garrison, such as the Deve Bair, Ramna Njiva and Kopriva watchtowers.

Opposition Party Demands Gligorov's Resignation

AU1103160092 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 6 Mar 92 p 4

[L. Kitanovska report: "Gligorov's Resignation Demanded!"]

[Text] Speaking at a news conference, Ljupco Georgievski, leader of the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity] said that President Kiro Gligorov is the most responsible for the catastrophic situation in which Macedonia finds itself and that he, together with other members of the top state leadership, should resign and that a national salvation government should be elected to replace them.

According to VMRO-DPMNE leader Georgievski, the "President's strategy of waiting, postponing decisions, his lack of clear stands, and his unclear position on whether he supports an independent Macedonia or Yugoslavia at any cost has led Macedonia into a blind alley on the international scene, into a state of fear and uncertainty regarding the entire defense of the state and of its borders, and into an economic catastrophe." This was what reporters were told at yesterday's news conference organized by the VMRO-DPMNE leadership with a view to publicly demand of President Kiro Gligorov to submit his resignation!

As VMRO-DPMNE President Ljupco Georgievski explained, this demand results from "one-year reign" whose sole result was a blockage of all democratic changes and establishment of neo-communism. In the opinion of the VMRO-DPMNE, there is too much method in this situation for anybody to believe that what is happening to us is only accidental. On the contrary, we openly suspect that what is done to the Macedonian state is done with a deliberate intention to economically devastate Macedonia as soon as possible, because a Macedonian with an empty stomach will least think about his country's independence, Georgievski said and added that it is easiest to present a Macedonian in such a situation the option of remaining within the borders of the Greater Serbia.

Since the top state leadership failed to offer any guarantees that Macedonian statehood will be completed soon and that something will be done in the sphere of internal policy, the VMRO-DPMNE is of the opinion that resignation is necessary and that a national salvation government should be formed instead which, in the period of 30 days, should adopt new state symbols, adopt a law on national defense, introduce Macedonian money, and prepare and organize new elections. Finally, it was said that the sufficient illustration of the situation is that during the period when intensive international activity was expected, the only visit that was made was Premier Kljusev's visit to North Rhine-Westphalia and that a demand of the VMRO-DPMNE that an urgent Parliament session be convened was not even replied to. Instead, even planned sessions are being adjourned, as is the case now due to Parliament President Stojan Andov travelling to Turkey.

Gligorov on Army, Serbia, Minorities

92BA0608A Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 2 Mar 92 p 17

[Article by Nebojsa Bugarinovic: "Kiro Gligorov: Dream About Japan"—first paragraph is VREME headline]

[Text] The president of Macedonia on the meetings with General Adzic and Slobodan Milosevic.

The meeting between the president of Macedonia, Kiro Gligorov, and Lt. Gen. Blagoj Adzic in Skoplje represented a first-rate media attraction in the southernmost republic of the former Yugoslavia. Therefore, the absence of public reactions to the results of the conversation between the Army leader and the representative of political power in Macedonia is quite unclear. Nevertheless, it is somewhat different with the people. The improvement because of the sudden relaxation of tensions and the unexpected "generosity" of the army in the last round of negotiations has been clouded by the proverbial melancholy implanted, over the centuries, in the souls of Macedonians: "We never smiled, but we cried still harder afterwards."

Credit for the peaceful end of the conflict with the army in Macedonia is almost wholly ascribed to the statesmanlike wisdom and experience of president Gligorov.

This is what he says about this, the Albanian question, and relations with Serbia.

Clash With the Army

There was never a real clash between the people in Macedonia and the army. The following facts indicate this:

First, not a single serious incident with the army occurred. Knowing where the formation of so-called paramilitary units leads, we held the viewpoint from the beginning that we would not allow anything like that in Macedonia. And it didn't happen—not a single paramilitary unit was formed here.

Second, we saw what the experience of surrounding military bases, maltreating officers' families, etc., means, and this also did not happen here. Officers' families also lived before with their friends, acquaintances, and neighbors, and we endeavored to resolve all problems through agreements with the army leadership. Disagreement arose when the war worsened and when we adopted the viewpoint that we could not participate in it, that we could not send recruits, that we could not send reservists to participate in an inter-ethnic war. I think that time has shown that we were right.

Next, we requested that our soldiers return from the front, but this was not respected. So 42 human lives were

lost. When someone's footlocker arrived in Macedonia, the temperature rose, and after a gathering of several thousand mothers in front of the Assembly, I realized that there was no alternative but not to participate in that war. From then on the government was dissatisfied that we acted that way. However, for our part, we continued not to give a cause with any act for a clash with the army. In the final analysis, the army also had to profit from this, and finally they also came to the realization that from here one must proceed quietly, because we had a referendum, we approved a constitution for an independent, sovereign state. We gave a deadline of six months for withdrawal, and I again turned to the army in a legal, peaceful manner, so that we could sit down, talk, and agree on their departure and on everything that should follow that action. After a month or two the time came for us to agree.

Those talks were correct and I think that they ended well. Under the given circumstances, I was basically satisfied with what we agreed on, and I have the impression that the army was satisfied. In the meantime a lot was taken out of Macedonia. I don't regret the tanks, missiles, and other heavy weaponry that were taken out, because I don't know what we would do with them. And one single life is more valuable than that iron, no matter how much it costs, and it costs a lot, and only now do people realize how much was sacrificed to obtain such massive weaponry, after it has been withdrawn from Macedonia only a few months. At the time when we sat down at the table, we began with the idea that the army would take with it anything that represents the weaponry of units (and, obviously, they're taking everything including the last rifle) and leave for us anything that is, in fact, ours, although we invested in the other things too. Those are the weapons of the Territorial Defense, which can be used only for internal security and guarding the borders. We have no intention of putting together some kind of army. First, we see from experience that we had such an army, and that it intervened in the end in an internal ethnic conflict, and did not defend the border from some enemy, unfortunately. Second, we saw from world experience that Japan, left without arms, utilized all its potential and became one of the most developed countries in the world, like, moreover, Germany too. It is obvious that the strength of a country today is not shown in the quantity of weapons, but, primarily, in great economic power and the social stability of society.

The Albanian Question

We didn't fall into the error of repeating Kosovo in Macedonia. This doesn't mean that we have solved the minority problem—far from it. It's a difficult problem, but we didn't get into a conflict; we resolved the problem through political means. They created their parties, these parties went to the elections, they got their representatives, they have a vice president of parliament. We offered them a chance to enter the government, they entered the government, they have a government vice president and two ministers. We argue about many problems, but at the table, through dialogue. Because of a lack of political culture, which is still evident, there are still hostile tones which, again, provoke extreme views, on one side or the other, but this is, nevertheless, in the framework of political and government institutions, through dialogue, before the person of the public; we are attempting step by step to emerge from this.

Relations With Serbia

The Ohrid talks were very good. We reached an understanding that, on the one hand, we do not want any kind of clash with Serbia. On the contrary, we want to preserve everything that is the result of life in common, and in the sphere of economic, political, and cultural relations. On the other hand, the Serbian representatives stated that they would respect the decision of the people in Macedonia, because I explained that Macedonians are probably the last people in the Balkans who have realized the right to self-determination, but not because they would live in some splendid isolation, but to try immediately to unite from these positions.

The erection of barriers should be avoided, primarily in the field of the economy. We have presented a draft law in Macedonia which, I hope, will be approved in the Assembly, under which the property of any firm, in any republic, may not be confiscated, these firms cannot be put into an unfavorable position in relation to "domestic" firms, because, if we do not honor this, how will there be trust on the part of anyone from outside in coming here and opening a firm, with the danger of losing it tomorrow, of having some unacceptable conditions imposed on it, etc.

Therefore, we have taken the basic step. If they take such a step both in Serbia and in some other republics, that's the beginning of renewed economic cooperation and the normalization of the situation.

Serbia

Belgrade Student Rally Continues

LD1203082192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0642 GMT 12 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, March 12 (TANJUG)—The youth rally in the centre of Belgrade, which started Tuesday evening, is still on early this Thursday morning. Its several hundred most persistent participants have not dispersed despite a cold March night.

The present were addressed last night by Nenad Canak, leader of the League of Social Democrats of Vojvodina, a province in the northeast of Serbia. He upheld all student demands and accused Serbia's authorities of having sent, he said, a hundred thousand Vojvodina inhabitants to civil war.

To be found among the "main demands of students" are that Serbia's president submit his resignation, that emergency parliamentary elections take place and that public mouthpieces be freed from pressures by the authorities.

Rally participants several times called on members of the "Terazije parliament," popular organizers of the last year's student rally on the same spot, but they did not join them by four o'clock this morning.

Demands Expand

LD1203051892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0224 GMT 12 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, March 11 (TANJUG)—A rally of Serbia's youth, sponsored on the occasion of the anniversary of student demonstrations on March 10, 1991, went on into the night here this night, and its list of demands was expanded. After starting yesterday, it turned into a gathering of opposition parties' young members and was joined by secondary school pupils in large numbers today. Belgrade's students, who in their four-day demonstrations last year obtained the dismissal of TV leadership and the resignation of Serbia's minister of home affairs, also officially made it known this evening that their organization was not to be found behind the Terazije Square Fountain rally.

Serbia's teachers and the Women's Movement for Yugoslavia sent round [words indistinct] the parents in protest against the misuse of children for political purposes. In Belgrade's main square, at the Terazije Fountain, this evening gathered over 5,000 people and were addressed by leaders of Serbia's youth and several leading opposition parties. At the rally, first upheld were demands addressed to the authorities by Serbia's opposition parties on March 9, i.e. that Serbia's President Slobodan Milosevic should resign, that elections for a constituent assembly should be scheduled, that monarchy be reinstated, and that the monopoly of mass information media be discontinued. The rally's organizing committee, with representatives for youth parties on it, today also demanded that a new student organization be formed, amnesty for all those who refused to be called up for military service, and an accurate list of those killed or wounded in civil war in Croatia.

"The EC and the U.S. having issued their joint declaration, a thing clear is that no changes in borders will ensue, that there is no victory at all, [name indistinct], leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO), stated at the rally, calling again on the youths and all citizens and workers to schedule an all-out strike.

One of the Democratic Party leaders, Zoran Djindjic, saw a conflict to be unavoidable, adding that the authorities could keep clear of something like that if they withdrew. Atanasije Jeftic, Orthodox bishop of the region of Banat, northern Serbia, also addressed the youth, saying that he saw a way out in forming a government of national salvation, unity and concord. A majority of those who by turns kept appearing at the speaker's platform all day and night, in between songs and recitations, accusing the authorities with Serbia's president at their head of a "national defeat," an economic collapse, divisiveness among the Serbs, "an unneeded war."

Midnight over, dwindling are the numbers of youths and, during a cold night, about 1,500 of the most persistent ones have stayed on in Belgrade's main square.

Novi Sad Support

LD1203101192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0848 GMT 12 Mar 92

[Text] Novi Sad, 12 Mar (TANJUG)—The Novi Sad University Student Federation has joined demonstrators in Belgrade in support of their demands.

In a statement issued this morning the organization calls for the collective resignation or the replacement of the Vojvodina Executive Council (government) and insists on the provincial and local multiparty elections being called immediately. In the intervening period power would be handed over to an interim multiparty provincial government with a prominent nonparty personality at the head.

The students also demand full autonomy for the univeristy and for its "influence, authority and property" to be restored. The third group of demands refers to the freedom of the press. In their statement the students call for the abolition of the "authority's monopoly" over the state media in Serbia, and for an end to the authority's interference in the affairs of student associations. Youth Minister Zeljko Sevic is called on to resign.

The Novi Sad University students declare their support for the efforts of Novi Sad citizens to obtain the status of a city for Novi Sad.

A statement was also issued this morning by the Academic Press Association of Serbia, set up by the student-run media in the republic, which calls for independence in the journalistic profession. The association also calls on the government to create within a month conditions for the independence and autonomy of student programs editorial boards.

Draskovic Addresses Students

LD1103235392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2224 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Summary] Belgrade, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—The students still gathered on Terazije Square in the center of Belgrade have just been addressed by Serbian Renaissance Movement [SPO] leader Vuk Draskovic. These were his opening words:

"If anybody is manipulating you, it is those who are claiming that you can be manipulated. They would like you to be morons so that they can manipulate you."

"After the U.S.-EC joint declaration it is clear that borders will not be changed, that there will be no victory, but only a great loss of blood because the regime perhaps unconsciously wants to be rid of you and get you away from Terazije and Freedom Square. Woe betide the

authorities that are afraid of their young people." Draskovic added that on his way here he passed through Dedinje and saw that "bulldozers and armed policemen have been brought out in response to the news of the Terazije meeting."

"At this moment it is the question of to be or not to be. Either those who destroyed Serbia will resign or you—students, schoolchildren, young engineers, doctors, Serbia's thinking better half—will resign from your future."

Draskovic commented on the absence of teachers, writers, and actors, suggesting that the names of all those who ought to come to the meeting be individually called out, just like in 1968.

If Belgrade University, schools, and workers were to call a general strike tomorrow, Serbia would immediately start to take off. You are only demanding a few resignations and the freeing of television; woe betide those who are not prepared to meet these demands, Draskovic said. "I will resign from anything you ask for and will even give my life if you ask for it," Draskovic said in conclusion.

Belgrade Residents Protest Milosevic Government

LD1103143692 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 1305 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Text] About 10,000 Belgrade residents, mainly students, have gathered in the center of the city in protest against the government of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. The students are calling for Milosevic's resignation and the replacement of Belgrade media personnel. It is expected that the size of the protest group will grow throughout the day. So far it has been peaceful.

Militia Guards Milosevic House

AU1103191492 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Text] For the last 20 hours, several thousand university and secondary school students, workers, and citizens of Belgrade have been marking the anniversary of the (?Velvet) Revolution in Terazije Square. We have learned that, because the rally participants announced that they would set off en masse toward Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic's residence, two Belgrade streets, Uzicaka and Tolstojeva, have been blocked off by strong militia forces and construction machinery. The protest meeting in Belgrade is continuing and, as the participants state, it will not stop until all the demands have been met.

Data on New Serbian Territorial Districts

92BA0583C Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Feb 92 p 7

[Article by Branislav Radivojsa: "The Okrugs Have Separated Rival Cities"]

[Text] Of the 29 newly formed okrugs in Serbia, the largest in area is Uzice, and the richest, by our standards, are Kikinda and Bor. The okrug with the largest population is Pristina, and the Novi Sad Okrug embraces the largest number of opstinas (12).

We obtained these figures by comparing the statistics from all opstinas in the republic. The okrugs, as far as the so-called central area is concerned, mainly came about through division of the previous regions. The Zajecar and Bor Okrugs were formed from the opstinas of the Timok region, the Nis, Toplica, and Pirot from the Nis region. The Danube (Smederevo) and Branicevo Okrugs (Pozarevac) came about through division of the Danube region, while the four opstinas of the new Morava Okrug were formed by separating Cacak and environs from the Kraljevo region.

Influence in the Government Is Also Essential

The new territorial organization has also pushed into the background certain traditionally competitive relations between cities within the same regions. This especially applies to Sabac and Valjevo, Leskovac and Vranje, Kraljevo and Krusevac, and others as well.

In the provinces, there were no regions, and thus mainly there was no pronounced competitiveness. The wags, however, say that the okrug seats there were formed depending on who had the greater influence in the government. Especially because according to the first versions, during the Zelenovic term of office, it was envisaged that all of Vojvodina would be divided into three okrugs. In the final version, seven of them have been established.

As a matter of fact, the specialists warn that scientific and professional institutions were not consulted when the decisions were made to form the okrugs. The decisions were made even under certain pressures, as indicated by the datum that the government originally issued a press release from its meeting on formation of 26 okrugs (even their seats were given), and then later it turned out that there were 29.

At the same time, the experts say, attention was not paid to the demographic characteristics of the new territorial entities. This especially applies to the size of the population in the okrugs. The differences in this regard are immense. While the Pristina Okrug has a population of 636,000, and Novi Sad 552,000, the Toplica Okrug has only 112,000 and the Pirot 117,000 inhabitants. These large differences, when at the same time there is great diversity in level of development, will have a significant impact on the way the okrug authorities operate.

They say that attention was not paid to the ethnic component either, especially when it comes to certain newly formed okrugs on the fringe of the republic, but also in Kosmet, where regional entities that are all but "ethnically pure" have been created.

Finally, the objection also applies to the fact that the okrug authorities will not have functions in development. The decree forming the okrugs spells this out. It says that in the okrugs they will not handle matters of regulating, study and analysis, programming and advancement of the situation "in areas for which ministries have been formed." This means that the development functions are entirely centralized at the top level of the republic for the 190 opstinas and the 29 okrugs.

In any case, the okrugs differ considerably in area as well. The largest is Zlatibor (Uzice) with 6,140 square kilometers. In second place is the South Banat Okrug (Pancevo), while Novi Sad (South Backa) is in third place. On the other side are the Danube (Smederevo) with 1,244 and North Backa (Subotica) with 780 square kilometers. The Smederevo and Subotica Okrugs have only three opstinas apiece, and they were formed at almost the last moment, after strong political pressures from those cities.

Eightfold Differences

The largest differences among these new territorial entities are nevertheless in level of development. According to figures of the Republic Bureau for Statistics dating from 1990, the first two places with respect to level of per capita income are taken by those we have mentioned: the North Banat (Kikinda) and Bor Okrugs. Kanjiza, Senta, Ada, Coka, Novi Knezevac, and Kikinda are 62 percent, and Bor, Kladovo, Majdanpek, and Negotin 59 percent above the republic average. In third place are the opstinas of the Sombor Okrug (49 percent), while the poorest are those in Kosovo and Metohija.

In the southern province, that is, the Kosovo-Morava Okrug, whose seat is in Gnjilane, is in the worst position. Aside from Gnjilane, this okrug includes Kosovska Kamenica, Novo Brdo, and Vitina, and the per capita income there is only one-fifth of the republic average—20.3 percent. If we compare this figure to that of Kikinda, which is 62 percent above the average, this means that Kikinda is eightfold more developed than Gnjilane. But the other four okrugs in Kosovo and Metohija are not in a better position than that of Gnjilane—Mitrovica with 21.4 percent, Pristina with 21.8 percent, Prizren with 24 percent, and Pec with 28 percent of the republic average.

It cannot be said at this moment how these large differences in level of development, the size and ethnic composition of the population, the number of opstinas, area, and other things will influence the organization and work of okrug authorities. After all, these authorities will only be formed in coming days.

[Box, p 7]

One Region—Two Okrugs

The new administrative entities in Serbia mainly came about through simple division of the previous regions, so that the 14 opstinas, for example, of the Drina-Kolubara region went to the Macva (eight) and Kolubara Okrugs (six). Eight opstinas of the Timok region were divided into two groups of four opstinas and went to the Bor and Zajecar Okrugs. That rule was departed from in division of the large Kraljevo region. Its 15 opstinas have been "scattered" among three new okrugs—Moravica, Raska, and Rasina, except that Ivanjica and Razanj, communes from quite different regions, were added to them: Ivanjica from the Uzice and Razanj from the Nis region. And Sjenica was "moved" from the Kraljevo region to the Uzice Okrug.

[Box, p 7]

Most Space in the Zajecar Okrug

Large regional differences in Serbia are also visible from figures on the population density. While the republic average is 105 inhabitants per square kilometer, in the Zajecar Okrug, the most sparsely inhabited, has 46, and the Pristina Okrug 190 inhabitants. In addition, there is also diversity in the age-specific composition of the population.

These Are Not Communities of Opstinas

What do they say in the republic government to the objection that the demographic and economic differences among the okrugs are excessively great?

They say that the newly formed okrugs and previous regions are not the same thing. The okrugs are not socioeconomic communities, nor communities of opstinas, but only areas in which the ministries would have their departments to handle administrative matters. And, they have a center, the town, the seat where these "detached" departments of the ministry are located. So, they say in the government, in a sense there is no need for mutual comparison of the okrugs. According to the government's conception, they are not separate territorial entities.

Slovenia

Diplomatic Relations Established With Luxembourg

LD1103211892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1455 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Text] Ljubljana, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—Luxembourg Foreign Minister Jacques Poos has handed Milan Kucan, president of the Slovene Presidency, a document recognizing this republic.

Slovene Foreign Minister Dr. Dimitrij Rupel and Luxembourg Foreign Minister Poos have since signed an agreement establishing diplomatic relations between the two countries. In accordance with the agreement, Slovenia will protect its interests in Luxembourg through its embassy in Brussels, and Luxembourg will protect its interests in Slovenia through its embassy in Vienna.

Diplomatic Relations Established With Albania

AU1103210292 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1830 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Text] The ceremony to establish diplomatic relations between the Republic of Albania and the Republic of Slovenia was held in the Slovene capital Ljubljana on 10 March 1992. The agreement establishing diplomatic relations was signed for Slovenia by Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel, and for Albania by Foreign Minister Ilir Bocka . During his stay in Ljubljana, Albanian Foreign Minister Ilir Bocka was received by Slovene President Mr. Milan Kucan, by the Deputy Premier Dr. Leo Seserko, and held official talks with his Slovene counterpart, Mr. Dimitrij Rupel.

During the meetings, Mr. Ilir Bocka discussed with his Slovene friends the relations between the two countries, their prospects, and the real possibilities of bringing them to fruition as soon as possible. They dwelt especially on the latest developments of the Yugoslav crisis, and the place the Albanian and particularly the Kosovo problem, occupies in this crisis. Both sides observed with satisfaction that they agreed on the problems discussed, and stressed that the development of the Slovene-Albanian relationship is in the interest of both countries and of peace and stability in the Balkans.

Kucan's Presence in Brussels Questioned

AU1103123492 Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 6 Mar 92 p 4

[Joze Poglajen report: "Kucan as a Queen?"]

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 6 March—At yesterday's news conference of the Demos club of deputies, Daniel Starman [not further identified] announced he will launch an initiative that the Government starts a debate over competences, that is to say, whether the president of the Presidency can represent the state in the international talks or whether this is a duty of the president of the government. Starman believes that, according to the new constitution, [Slovene Premier] Lojze Peterle should depart for the forthcoming continuation of the EC conference on Yugoslavia in Brussels, because only the government can speak for the interests of the state, whereas Milan Kucan, as the president of the Presidency, can only represent the state in the way the British queen represents Great Britain, for example. In this way we would also demonstrate that we are no longer a part of Yugoslavia.

The fact that Milan Kucan has been receiving the invitations for this international conference could be ascribed to Carrington's ignorance of our internal regulations. Kucan obviously believes that he holds greater powers than the Constitution grants him, Starman said, justifying this by the fact that the republican Presidency discussed the state of affairs in forestry, for which it holds no competence whatever. Starman also informed journalists of the demand, signed by 50 deputies of various parties, that Milan Kucan publicly apologize to the Assembly deputies for his statement about the caricature of democracy (which referred to the debate on new premier designate Marko Voljc). [passage omitted]

Military Training Centers To Open in April

92BA0586C Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 27 Feb 92 p 2

[Article by Zdenko Matoz: "New Training Centers for the Slovene Territorial Defense"—first paragraph is DELO introduction]

[Text] Starting in April, recruits will be trained at six training centers; after basic training, specialization in combat units; more liberal regime.

Ljubljana, 26 Feb—Slovene Territorial Defense [TO] will have six training centers for training recruits. Training centers in Ljubljana (the barracks in Polje), Vrhnika (the Ivan Cankar barracks), Postojna (the upper barracks), Kranj, Slovenska Bistrica, and Cerklje ob Krki will begin operation on 1 April.

With the establishment of these training centers, Slovene Territorial Defense will close the present center at the Sentvid barracks in Ljubljana. There has been a noncommissioned officers' school at the defense center in Igo since this January, a training center from Slovenska Bistrica is now in Pekre, and at the same time, newly hired employees will be trained there for work at the training centers.

As we were told by Milan Gorjanc, the chief of the department for training affairs at the republic Territorial Defense headquarters, each province is to have its own training center. In addition to those listed, they are planning to establish another one later on in Ptuj. He said that there would be 300-600 soldiers at each center, who would master basic military knowledge in three months, or 52 working days. After the completion of their training, the recruits will go to combat units, where they will become acquainted with special military knowledge. Each province has one combat unit, and other special units. By renovating the former barracks, they will also ensure an optimum standard, which the Yugoslav Army soldiers did not have.

Pavel Vindisar, the chief of the section for training at the training centers, says that the soldiers' sanitary standard will also be higher, since the premises will be heated, they will have hot water, there will be from 10 to 15 soldiers in the dormitories, and there will be a television for every 30 soldiers.

He said that the training centers would have a professional staff. A third of the personnel will go to the training centers from the republic headquarters, and two thirds have been newly hired. They also include those who transferred from the Yugoslav Army to the Territorial forces. Also, 50 noncommissioned officers who will complete their training at the Igo defense center in May

will work at these centers. This will also be the first generation of professional noncommissioned officers from Slovene military schools.

Milan Gorjanc said that differences among the training centers had not been planned, since the soldiers would primarily learn basic military knowledge at them, and would specialize in the combat units. The training of the soldiers will proceed according to a general program that includes professional military subjects, a general educational content, and other activities. In civic education, the soldiers will be acquainted with the history of the Slovene state, army, and culture. There will be no political indoctrination at the centers, since the parties do not have access to them, and the training program has been purged of ideological content. He added that the training centers are having minor difficulties with local authorities, who want to push the army into the woods, whereas Territorial Defense wants the soldiers to live as little isolated from the milieu as possible.

Pavle Vindisar said that many recruits wanted to remain in Territorial Defense. Also observed has been pressure from former JA [Yugoslav Army] officers who first left Slovenia with the Yugoslav Army, and later returned, but are not being hired by TO. The ones who have been hired are primarily those Slovenes who were in the JA in other regions of the former Yugoslavia, and were not able to transfer to TO in time. The increased interest in serving in TO should probably be attributed to increasingly higher unemployment, and also to the fact that young people are becoming interested in military service.

[Box, p 2]

The recruits at the training centers get up at 0530, have intensive training, some more free time, and then go to bed at 2200. The system is milder, and there is also more freedom. A third of the soldiers can go into town every Wednesday, and the soldiers can go home every third weekend. Those who remain at the centers have one day off. The soldiers go home in civilian clothing.

Peterle on Proposed Cabinet Changes

92BA0598C Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
1 Mar 92 p 2

[STA interview with Slovene Prime Minister Lojze Peterle; place and date not given: "A New Coalition Was Not Agreed Upon in Advance"—first paragraph is DELO introduction]

[Text] Lojze Peterle is in favor of making the government more efficient as soon as possible; he is wooing the Socialists and Liberal Democrats to enter the coalition; the government is now actually a minority one.

Ljubljana, 1 Mar—A normal political situation, when people will not be afraid of who will be elected prime minister, will be reestablished after at least two or three terms of office, Slovene Prime Minister Lojze Peterle stated in an interview for the Slovene Press Agency [STA]. Until then, three blocs will actually be formed: left, central, and right. We have abridged the interview.

[STA] What is the result of Friday's meeting with the coalition parties?

[Peterle] The parties agreed that it was necessary to start proceedings as soon as possible on the law on the government, which has already been prepared. This law will enter government proceedings as early as next week, and then parliamentary proceedings as well. It is a proposal to make it more efficient, and to reduce the number of ministers to 15. The parties are in favor of reconstructing the government, and gave me authorization to talk with the opposition parties about possible entry into the coalition. In the next few days I will consequently visit the parties and see what we can do.

[STA] The number of ministers will be reduced, at any rate. How can the ministerial seats be divided proportionally among the parties, and are ministerial seats also planned for the opposition? Can you already talk about specific names?

[Peterle] I would rather not talk about the names. It depends on the talks. The coalition has discussed an offer, i.e., the positions that it is prepared to discuss with the opposition. We will see how the various parties will react to this.

[STA] It is being said that Dr. Joze Osterc, the agriculture minister, is also in the package of ministers who would be replaced.

[Peterle] I said at the very beginning that there were at least three ministers who ought to leave the government, in accordance with logic and good political behavior. I thus think that the Greens misunderstood me, and thought that I was only proposing the replacement of three ministers: Bavcar, Rupel, and Kacin. We did not talk about Osterc at the meeting.

[STA] There is a great deal of vagueness about the procedure for dismissing ministers. You are citing article 114 of the constitution, according to which the Prime Minister is responsible for the unity of the government, but Dr. Rupel thinks that you ought to resign and then seek a mandate in parliament again to form a government.

[Peterle] Dr. Rupel has an interesting explanation, saying that I ought to resign if I think that some minister is ripe for a resignation. That is a unique explanation of the rules of the democratic game, with which I certainly cannot agree. It would be honest if the ministers themselves resigned. I am putting the entire matter on a moral and political level, although I also have other reasons. This has to do with the mistakes that Rupel and Bavcar have made in the past.

[STA] When you talk about expanding the coalition, you mention including the Socialists and Liberal Democrats as the most likely possibility. Have you perhaps already

concluded some quiet agreement with the future president of the LDS [Liberal Democratic Party], Dr. Janez Drnovsek?

[Peterle] The Socialists and the Liberal Democrats are the ones who come into consideration the most. Dr. Drnovsek and I have met many times, since he is a great help in consulting on certain financial and economic issues. As far as the political substance is concerned, there have not been any advance agreements. My talks with the LDS are still ahead, and I expect that both the present and future presidents will participate in them. If the party developments in accordance with the starting points for cooperation that Drnovsek has presented, I see considerable possibilities for cooperation, since his starting points are constructive and centralist. By the way, so far not one party that has declared itself to be centralist has convinced me that it actually is, except for my own party, which is more to the right of the center. In any case, these schemes really bother me. I prefer a hydrological criterion, according to which the strongest current flows along the middle of the river.

[STA] With the outcome of Marko Voljc's proposal for a new prime minister, you were warned that you had lost majority support. In your opinion, what would happen with the next proposal for a prime minister?

[Peterle] The interpretation that I am the loser, of course, is a characteristic move by the opposition, which has to justify its own defeat with certain inversions. They would have to gather 121 votes, and if they did not succeed in this, the victory would be mine. It would already be a victory for me if I gathered 120 votes. The issue of being the majority or the minority, of course, is now an open one. I think that now the government is actually a minority one, but in spite of this it is necessary to take into account the fact that the Greens' leadership is very leftist, but their deputies' club does not give me that impression. It is therefore difficult to talk about what the actual relationships are like.

Uncertainty is characteristic of our parliament. It is hard to gather 121 votes. The Greens would have to gather an appropriate number of votes for their proposal, and they would likewise have to do this at the next step, when the prime minister would present his government. Of course, I also have to concede this possibility, but I assert that those who undertake this would have to review their own campaign promises, how much they fulfilled and when they got off the "train," since people cannot be misled twice. The Democratic Party is already clearly recognized as having lost votes because of its steps.

I have the impression that after everything that has happened, our party has not lost the voters' support. Precisely the opposite has happened—every day we receive piles of membership applications, including ones from people from other parties, who even ask at our administration where it would be easiest for them to give notice to "their party."

I can say two things with certainty: the events will certainly have consequences with the voters, and will likewise not remain unnoticed by our foreign political partners. The tendencies of the obsolete system and the representatives of the new one can be recognized very quickly in parliament. It would be good if this were also taken into account by those who are coming to parliament with proposals for a new prime minister. As a state, we can present ourselves seriously abroad through the representatives of the new system, and not with people who have obviously been implementing failed political concepts and projects.

Changes Expected in Liberal Democratic Party

92BA0598A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
28 Feb 92 p 2

[Article by Veso Stojakov: "Is Drnovsek's Candidacy a Quiet Blow Against Jozef Skolc?"—first paragraph is DELO introduction]

[Text] The personnel changes that will be instituted after the March LDS [Liberal Democratic Party] congress will finally push the ZSMS [Socialist Youth Union of Slovenia] faction in the LDS aside; the initiative for Drnovsek to take over the LDS came from Zagorje ob Savi.

Ljubljana, 27 Feb—Dr. Janez Drnovsek's decision to take over the helm of the strongest opposition party in Slovenia on 21 March at the LDS congress was a surprise, on one hand, but on the other hand it was an expected move by the former President of the Yugoslav Presidency and a politician with one of the biggest political reputations at this time in Slovenia.

Specifically, Dr. Drnovsek absolutely needed the party "base" if he wanted to stay in "political life," and if he did not want to risk complete political oblivion. On the other hand, his agreeing to become the president of the LDS made it possible for that party to reunite its already considerably disrupted ranks. One should not forget that in the past two months a small intra-party battle for the new party president has been going on in the LDS. Until the publication of Drnovsek's name, the main actors were former president Jozef Skolc and deputy Edo Oven, the candidate of the so-called entrepreneurial lobby in the party. It is difficult to predict now how their duel would have ended at the congress if Dr. Janez Drnovsek had not entered the game. According to some information that we possess, the outcome of the election would have been close, but in Edvard Oven's favor. Above all, this is due to several LDS opstina committees, which have not been very satisfied for some time now with Jozef Skolc's policy in leading the party.

That is why the intervention by the Zagorje ob Savi LDS opstina committee, which was the only one to record Dr. Janez Drnovsek as a possible new party president in its regular candidacy proceedings, was welcome to the party itself. The first talks with the possible new president also took place in Zagorje, and later Mile Setinc, Gregor

Golobic, the head of the party's campaign headquarters, and even former president Jozef Skolc also helped to persuade Dr. Drnovsek.

Just a day before he decided to accept the offer, Dr. Drnovsek also met with Edo Oven, who at that time was still another presidential candidate, along with several other members of the entrepreneurial lobby. Regardless of these intra-party maneuvers behind the scenes, however, with the arrival of Dr. Janez Drnovsek the ZSMS faction that still prevailed in the LDS to a certain extent has probably been pushed aside forever. That is why some experts on the situation in the LDS say that former party leader Jozef Skolc was the one who lost most of all, and that Drnovsek's coming to head the LDS is actually a quiet blow against him, with which he has clearly had to reconcile himself if he wants to continue to participate more or less productively in formulating party policy. In fact, Skolc will continue to head the deputies' club, but in all likelihood he will no longer have as much of a say in the party as in the past, especially since the Saturday before the entrepreneurial lobby had succeeded in placing Edvard Oven on the list of candidates for the party's vice presidents, in spite of some opposition in the ranks of the so-called "ZSMS lobby."

With Dr. Janez Drnovsek's coming to head the Liberal Democrats, there will probably also be a change in the Liberal Democrats' former attitude toward the present political complications in Slovenia. A change can already be perceived after Lojze Peterle's latest attempt to woo them to join the government coalition. The party's rather vague answer to this offer makes one think that the Liberal Democrats are nevertheless preparing to enter Peterle's government, although this would be a considerable surprise in view of the present mood within the party. Some political opponents of Dr. Drnovsek even say that such an answer from the Liberal Democrats is already a consequence of Drnovsek's influence upon party policy. They say that by having the LDS join the government coalition, Drnovsek wants to influence certain legal and personnel solutions. Essentially, he would thus gain fairly broad central-right support for his possible presidential candidacy. Although this scenario is unlikely, since it is hard to imagine that the LDS and Dr. Drnovsek would thus give up a possible good election result and a probable office of prime minister, even this would not be a surprise on the current political scene. It is more likely that the LDS, and Dr. Drnovsek along with it, will seek this office of prime minister in the elections, together with several other central parties.

Drnovsek Accepts Candidacy for LDS Presidency

92BA0579A Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 24 Feb 92 p 3

[Article by Meta Roglic: "Successful 200 Hours of Persuasion"—first paragraph is DNEVNIK introduction]

[Text] The Liberal-Democratic Party [LDS] congress will be on the first day of spring in Ljubljana; Dr. Janez Drnovsek has consented to be a candidate for president of the party

Velenje, 24 Feb—At its Saturday meeting, the LDS Council supported Dr. Janez Drnovsek as the only candidate for party president, and likewise the three candidates proposed by the party's Executive Committee for the vice presidential positions, Dr. Bogomir Kovac, Vika Potocnik, and Jasa L. Zlobec. At the suggestion of several members, the list of candidates was also expanded with a fourth candidate for vice president, Edvard Oven. Gregor Golobic has been nominated for the post of secretary general. These candidates are to be elected to the proposed positions at the party's congress, which will be on 21 March in Ljubljana.

The party's Executive Committee also met before the meeting of the LDS Council started, and after the "heated" discussions there and the subsequent "circuits" around the hall, we expected stormy polemics at the Council session as well. The cause of them was expected to be complications with the candidacy of Edvard Oven, who until Saturday was the most "serious" candidate for party president, along with Joze Skolc; in any case, he agreed to Janez Drnovsek's being the only candidate for party president, and in exchange he was to be offered a vice presidential candidacy. A majority of the Executive Committee did not agree with this. There were no major polemics at the Council meeting, however. Most of those present supported the proposal of the entrepreneurial part of the party, and thus Edvard Oven became a candidate for fourth vice president.

As Joze Skolc stated in the introduction, the list of candidates and the documents prepared for the congress should contribute to expanding and strengthening the party. They are already talking with several deputies from other parties and several independent deputies who would be willing to cross over to the LDS. "We have all the conditions necessary to be able to expect success and double the party's strength," said Skolc, who denied the rumors that the party's strengthening would be linked in any way with support for or the establishment of contacts with Lojze Peterle's government.

At a lunch after the Council meeting, the party's members were also joined by the only candidate for party president, Dr. Janez Drnovsek. In an interview by journalists, he said that he had decided to accept the candidacy because the LDS was a promising party and because its program was similar to his. Their joint work could be interesting and successful. In Dr. Drnovsek's opinion, the party has to acquire an image of seriousness and maturity, an image that it is a party that can also take on serious tasks, so that it can also ensure itself the most favorable position in the elections and assume responsibility for development during the upcoming period. It has to act constructively, place itself above quarrels, and offer a serious program for getting out of the crisis. In any case, he thinks that the

party still has considerable potential that should be exploited. One of the significant elements that will make it possible for the party to be able to prepare a serious economic program is also the proposal that Dr. Bogomir Kovac occupy one of the vice presidential posts.

At the present time, it seems to Dr. Janez Drnovsek that the key thing is for the party to prepare for the elections; all other solutions—including seeking a new prime minister—would merely be a last resort. The party will seek its partners in the political center, and would also be prepared to establish ties in both directions in the "moderate sphere."

In response to a question about what conditions he had set when he accepted the candidacy, or whether his being the only candidate was also one of his conditions, Dr. Drnovsek answered that he had not set any conditions; obviously it seemed important to the party's leadership. Otherwise, his orientation was not so much toward leading the party, but rather primarily involvement in the state's political and economic problems, i.e., what would happen after the elections. "Consequently, there were no conditions; we talked about goals, and it is important that the goals are similar. The members of the party also thought that the party has to mature and acquire the image of a serious party, and that in addition to the present program's goals, such as the struggle for individual human rights, and a law-governed state, it is also appropriate to stress emergence from the present economic crisis faced by all Slovenes."